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A SOCIALIST FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF GOLDEN OLDIE MUSIC LYRICS

by

Mary Elizabeth Polachok

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Communication Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Communications at the
University of Windsor**

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1994

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ISBN 0-315-93303-8

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ABSTRACT

The songs of the fifties, sixties, and seventies are currently hailed by the contemporary music industry as "Golden" or "classics." These three decades of music are still played regularly on certain Canadian and American radio stations, which illustrates the fact that the general public still has access to this music.

The problem however, is what these songs contain within their lyrics. The messages communicated to listeners are neither positive nor progressive in nature. In actuality, they are detrimental to the gains women as a sexual class have achieved over the years.

This is a study of 125 "Golden Oldie" songs played over the air on CKLW in the summer of 1993. A semiotic analysis was applied to each song to determine whether or not its content was sexist in nature. Once the songs were analyzed, they were placed in theoretically-determined categories.

Using a socialist feminist theoretical framework, the author grouped the songs into seven categories: Woman as Commodity/Possession, Woman as an Appendage of Man, Woman as Dependent (economically and emotionally), Woman as Having A Predetermined Place in Society, Woman as Victimized by the Sexual Double Standard, Woman as Voiceless, and a category titled "Super" Songs which includes those songs that cross over all of the categories.

Examples of songs which fall into the first category are "Take Good Care of My Baby" by Bobby Vee from 1961 and "Cherry Hill Park" by Billy Joe Royal from 1969. The second category includes songs such as "Oh, Pretty Woman" by Roy Orbison from 1964 and "She's Just My Style" by Gary Lewis & the Playboys from

1966. The songs "My World is Empty" by the Supremes from 1966 and "Midnight Mary" by Joey Powers from 1963 fell under the third category; while "Having My Baby" by Paul Anka from 1974 and "If You Wanna Be Happy" by Jimmy Soul from 1963 fell under the fourth category. The fifth category included the songs "The Wanderer" by Dion & the Belmonts from 1962 and "Runaround Sue" by the same group from 1961; and the songs "Patches" by Clarence Carter from 1970 and "Cat's in the Cradle" by Harry Chapin from 1974 fell under category six. The category of "Super" songs included the two songs "She's A Lady" by Tom Jones from 1971 and the Rolling Stones's song "Under My Thumb" from 1966. It was found that a total of 94% of the songs studied were sexist in some form or other.

This thesis uses an abductive approach during the research process, which means that the theory informs the analysis, and vice versa. The theory is reflected in the lyrics, and the research moved back and forth from the literature to the texts in question in order to keep the study grounded in its theory.

It is argued herein that rather than simply being part of a market-driven profit imperative, the songs played from this era are part of the Backlash against women.

DEDICATION

For my Mother and Father,
who have supported my every endeavour.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special Thanks To:

To Brad, for being such an inspiration.

To David, for always making me laugh.

To Wendy Duff at CKLW,
for donating her valuable time to help me with this study.

To Sharon and Duncan, for their enthusiastic assistance.

To Ann in the Department of Communications,
for always being so helpful.

To Dr. James Winter,
for his invaluable time and effort.

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INTRODUCTION

The songs of the fifties, sixties, and seventies are currently hailed by the contemporary music industry as "Golden" or as "classics." They have gained a special and nostalgic relevance with many listeners, and today, a number of radio stations devote their entire playlists to this "oldie" format; maintaining that "these are the songs everybody still loves listening to." (Dick Clark, CKLW, Summer 1992). Examples of radio stations which subscribe to this format are WOMC 104.3 FM in Detroit, Michigan, and CHUM 1050 AM in Toronto, Ontario; while many others play some of the songs as part of their "easy listening" format e.g. WJOI 97.1 FM in Detroit. Obviously the music of the past still has the power to reach a substantial audience; the question here however, is whether or not this era of music is worthy of this "Golden" label.

This music's reach is substantial. Audiences not only have wide access to these songs, but according to the CRTC, listenership of this particular era is quite high. In fact, statistics from the CRTC illustrate that as of 1992, the percentage of Canadian radio listening devoted specifically to the station category of "Golden" or "Oldies" was 4.94%. In itself this would be significant, but if one adds this to the audiences for other categories which include Golden Oldie music: Easy Listening (9.58%), Classic Rock (10.04%), and Adult Contemporary (27.76%), this totals 52.32% of radio audiences who are exposed to these songs at least some of the time. According to the CRTC definitions, all of the above radio formats include selections from the Golden Oldie era of music. Hence, more than half of radio

audiences have become familiarized with this musical era through their listening habits.

The significance of this "Golden Oldie" music's prominence apparently has thus far been overlooked by society as a whole as well as by the academy. This is significant, especially since it is believed here that these songs personify the morals and values of generations past; sociological morals and values which were inappropriate then, and are highly inappropriate now.

Since this study views music as a form of popular culture which reflects patriarchal ideologies, the only logically appropriate way to analyze it is within a theoretical framework which is feminism-based. The first chapter, therefore, will focus on this study's theoretical framework: socialist feminist theory. This is but one school of feminism among a wealth of other useful and contrasting feminist schools. One of the postulations of the socialist feminist school is that there is a capitalist patriarchy in society; a system in which oppression is economically as well as biologically based. This capitalist patriarchal system exists within the music industry as well as in society more generally and will continue to exist until it is dismantled.

Other reasons why this particular feminist theory was chosen to frame this study will be discussed, and a thorough comparison between this school and the more commonly used, mainstream liberal feminist school will also be included. Following this theoretical overview will be an outline of the categories which are used to organize the Golden Oldie songs. These categories reflect the socialist feminist theoretical framework, and at the same time are grounded in an extensive analysis of the lyrics.

The second chapter focuses on the significance of music as a form of leisure, and as a representation of the dominant ideology. This chapter includes a literature overview of the concept of ideology itself, as well as the potential for ideological indoctrination. Since one of the concerns of this research is widespread negative effects as a result of consistent exposure to a sexist form of popular culture, (i.e. making the "Backlash" against feminism more palatable) a section on ideology and music is appropriate. This chapter also includes an overview of women's participation within the music industry itself, which refutes the idea that women are breaking down the sexual barricades within the industry. The information included in this chapter suggests that the music industry both reflects and propagates the aforementioned capitalist patriarchy. The lengths this industry will go to profit from dated material will also be addressed here.

The third chapter will focus on the analysis of the lyrics themselves. A semiotic analysis is applied to a total of 125 songs from the Golden Oldie era, most of which were compiled during the summer of 1993 from one particular oldies station, CKLW 93.9 FM in Windsor, Ontario. As of February 6, 1994 however, this station altered its format. These songs are organized under the six theoretically determined categories, with an accompanying discussion for each, including reasons why they belong in the specific categories. Music lyrics are laid out for the reader, followed by a process of signification. Songs which, because of the sexist nature of their lyrics, fall under all six categories will also be dealt with, as well as those few songs which don't conform to patriarchal ideologies.

The final chapter discusses the results from the third chapter and concludes the thesis. Since it is believed that most of these "Golden Oldies" fall

under at least one of the sexist categories, it is necessary to discuss why this is relevant for society at large. Suggestions why some of the more 'alternative' songs of this era have been excluded from mainstream playlists are provided, including a discussion that relates this exclusion to the "Backlash" against feminism. The importance of using one's critical consciousness when encountering any form of media is discussed; especially for those media forms which emulate dominant ideologies.

The thesis ends with proposals that may help alleviate this problem of sexist messages being disseminated over the airwaves. These proposals reflect socialist feminist theory and suggest that more drastic measures are needed to solve the problem than simply working within existing institutions. It is time to question who labelled these songs "Golden," and why, and it is time to do something about them.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The basic assumptions of this thesis are as follows. First, it is assumed that women as a sexual class are oppressed by the patriarchy which governs society. It is assumed that there is an inequality of power relations between men and women, and although attitudes towards women began to change in the 1970s, they have yet to achieve anything remotely resembling unconditional sexual equality. The contemporary "Backlash" as Susan Faludi refers to it in Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women, (1991) contributes to women's subordination by reinforcing the patriarchy. It does this for the most part by making sexist themes more palatable to the general public, often through channels

of mass media.

The next assumption is that music is a social and cultural representation of society; a point to be addressed further in chapter two. It can be seen as a form of leisure, and can reflect the dominant ideologies of a society.

The next assumption is that mass media contribute to the problem by disseminating messages which reflect the patriarchal belief that women are second class citizens, and inferior creatures. With this in mind, an analysis of a form of popular culture (i.e. music) which appears to reiterate and promote sexist ideals is highly relevant.

This leads to the next assumption, which is that preconscious processing is a possibility. The possibility of subconscious ideological indoctrination must not be overlooked; one may unconsciously adopt the values of these musical messages. There also may be conscious as well as subconscious assimilation of these values.

It is assumed that labelling these songs "Golden" and "classic" gives them a new relevance among listeners. This music is also assumed to be enjoyed by younger audiences as well as the baby boomers who grew up with it; and is constantly being re-introduced to newer listeners via contemporary films, television programs, etc.

Therefore, for this thesis, a semiotic analysis will be applied to a sample of these aforementioned "classic" songs to determine whether or not the overall message communicated to the listening public is a sexist one. This "Golden" era of music is still popular in contemporary society. Since this era is believed here to reflect and promote sexist attitudes, this popularity is all the more distressing.

CHAPTER 1

There is a tyranny of custom working against the progress of women in contemporary North American society. Attempts by the women's liberation movement to challenge women's socially ascribed classifications have been undermined by a fierce and relentless opponent: patriarchy.¹ Not only does this opponent attribute foul connotations to the practice of 'feminism' per se, but it is so frightened of the idea of sexual equality that it has unleashed yet another patriarchal warrior: the 'backlash.'

Award-winning feminist author Susan Faludi notes that progress made by women and a fearful patriarchal society are the essential ingredients for a backlash. Problems society experiences, such as the breakdown of the family or failures in the economy have been attributed to the hard-won victories of the women's movement. Their 'selfish' strides towards sexual equality have resulted in the degradation of society as we know it. To blame the women's movement for problems in life is nothing new; the feminist-loathing phenomenon has been widespread and commonplace ever since the suffrage movement was introduced over a century ago.² What is perhaps surprising, however, is the lengths to which the perpetrators of the antifeminist backlash will go in order to convince society that not only is feminism a wicked force, but that it is the root of disharmony

¹ A radical feminist definition of 'patriarchy,' for example, is a "sexual system of power in which the male possesses superior power and economic privilege. Patriarchy is the male hierarchical ordering of society." (Eisenstein, 1979:17)

² In Europe, for example, many of women's "expressions of discontent" began to surface in 1789 and afterward, when such pivotal "expressions" included the 1789 women's rights protest; and when French Suffragism founder Hubertine Auclert urged an all-out women's resistance in 1879. (Bidelman, 1982:xv)

that not only is feminism a wicked force, but that it is the root of disharmony amongst people rather than racial, sexual, or class oppression. As Faludi points out in her book Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women, once a society

...projects its fears onto the female form, it can try to cordon off those fears by controlling women - pushing them to conform to comfortingly nostalgic norms and shrinking them in the cultural imagination to a manageable size. (1991:70)

Increasingly, women are coming to view themselves as a colonized class who need to unite for the fight for social change. They are beginning to realize that no longer should biological makeup render someone a second class citizen. Women must refuse to be moulded into a "manageable size" for the purposes of patriarchal and capitalistic society. They must be recognized as equal beings, and their demands should no longer be quieted by those who fear them.

The backlash is brilliant in so far as it also teaches women that their problems stem from their feminist counterparts. By maintaining that "women are enslaved by their own liberation," (1991:x) the backlash is attempting to create an antifeminist collective whose ill-informed members include women as well as men. Interestingly, one of the perpetrators of these backlash myths actually has the power to stop them.

From "the man shortage" to "the infertility epidemic" to "female burnout" to "toxic day care," these so-called female crises have had their origins not in the actual conditions of women's lives but rather in a closed system that starts and ends in the media, popular culture, and advertising - an endless feedback loop that perpetuates and exaggerates its own false images of womanhood. (1991:xv)

It has become increasingly obvious that woman's image will continue to be stereotypical and negative so long as these institutions insist on disseminating

such reflections of her. Thus, the primary origins of women's misery lie not within their quest for unconditional equality but rather within this closed system in which they must reside.

Popular culture has repeatedly proven to be a poor judge of what is and is not appropriate for audiences; this case is no different. The driving force of the mass media is one which is not in tune with the needs of its participants. Rather, it pivots on capitalistic profit; a goal fundamental to its exploitative measures and its dismissal of so many truths.

THE MEDIUM AND ITS MUSIC: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The focus of this thesis will be on a particular medium which is thought to perpetuate these negative images of women, thus contributing to this backlash against their progress. In this case, the medium will be radio, and its product: music. The time frame for the music studied is the 1950s, 1960s, and the early 1970s, which has been dubbed the "Golden Oldie" era of music by the industry which created it. The songs of these three decades are called "Golden Oldies," or simply "classics," and their content will be the focus of this thesis. The context is present day, since these songs are still on the airwaves.

Chapter two will elaborate on this topic further, and will discuss at length the social significance of music, the music industry itself, the possibility of ideological indoctrination, and how this business both reflects and propagates capitalist patriarchy; which hereafter will be referred to as the CP. Since it shall be maintained that music delivers social and cultural messages, the need for a critical awareness during any exposure to media will be suggested, especially those

media which perpetuate stereotypical reflections of oppressed groups. In this case, the culprits are the songs of the Golden Oldie era of music, a significant proportion of which are thought to be sexist in content, while the victims of this oppression are obviously women. Since a disturbingly large proportion of these songs are thought to contain sexist and misogynistic lyrics which are demeaning toward women, the one logically appropriate way to analyze them is within a theoretical framework which is feminism-based.

THE THEORY: LIBERAL VERSUS SOCIALIST FEMINISM

The study which follows is framed by a socialist feminist perspective. Socialist feminism is but one school of feminism among a wealth of differing and often contrasting feminist schools. Although antifeminists and the perpetrators of the backlash (often one and the same) would lead one to believe that there is only one generic feminism which characterizes all feminists, nothing could be further from the truth. There is no single all-encompassing 'feminism.'³ To believe so would be to oversimplify the unique demands of each school. Black feminists, Marxist feminists, radical feminists, lesbian feminists, materialist feminists, anarcha-feminists, liberal feminists, eco-feminists and socialist feminists (just to name a few) each have distinct understandings of women's oppression, and each

³ The idea that 'feminism' represents a homogenous group of women is all too often thought to be true; in some instances this idea is demonstrated on a popular level. This was exemplified by former Prime Minister Kim Campbell, who called herself a "feminist;" this being an interesting claim since Canada's National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) disagreed with her on many, if not all, policies. Moreover, in the NAC's November 1993 newsletter, *Action Now!*, it was stated in an article dealing with 1993 federal election results that "...during this campaign, having a woman Prime Minister did not mean women's issues were on the national agenda. Content to let attention focus on her gender, Ms. Campbell consistently refused to address women's issues." (1993:1) Thus, the label "feminist" often does not accurately represent what the term actually entails.

school may also have members who subscribe to the beliefs of more than one school (e.g. there are Black lesbian feminists; liberal feminists who have a radical understanding of male culture, and so on). Although it may be convenient to label all women who speak out against their oppressors as 'radical feminists' (as so often occurs), unless those women subscribe to the school of radical feminism, this is a misappropriated label (the beliefs and demands of this school will be examined shortly). Thus, in order to better understand the demands of a feminist school, one must distinguish between that school's understanding of the oppression of women, and those of other contrasting schools. This raises the question of why socialist feminism was chosen to frame this research, as opposed to the most frequently adopted perspective: liberal feminism.

LIBERAL FEMINISM

Firstly, it is worthwhile to note that feminist studies of communication are increasing, (Steeves, 1987:95) especially in the United States. Interestingly, however, "much of the mainstream media research reflects an implicit liberal feminist perspective." (1987:95) This is unfortunate since so many other feminist perspectives are out there which are not quite so conservative. Obviously it would have been easy to adhere to the norm and use this perspective for this study, but a closer examination of the liberal feminist school, determined that something much stronger and more extensive was needed.

Liberal feminism is one of the oldest schools of feminism. The postulations of liberal feminism date back as early as 1858, when

... [with] their counterparts in the United States, Australia, and elsewhere in Europe, the founders of the French feminist movement

employed the rationale of liberal individualism to demand opportunity reforms aimed at permitting women to compete fairly with men for basic well-being, wealth, and status. (Bidelman, 1982:xiv)

As explained by Bidelman, opportunity reforms included rights such as "equal education, equal access to posts within the professional meritocracy, equal pay for equal work and equal control over income and property." (1982:xiv) It was believed that women could bring about society's "moral regeneration" (1982:xv) once they could openly participate in society via 'equal opportunity' reforms. Although the excerpts above were used by Bidelman to describe the fundamentals of the French feminist movement of the mid-1800s, these equal opportunity demands are still characteristic of the liberal feminist school today. Past French liberal suffragettes, like contemporary liberal feminists, believed that all women suffer in common as a result of a lack of opportunity to implement their special talents. What is therefore necessary for women to escape their oppression is simply a chance to prove themselves. Although such demands for opportunity were considered quite revolutionary at the time of their introduction, adages such as 'votes for women' are no longer necessary to help change the status of women; nor do they properly characterize women's contemporary societal concerns. Whereas "early feminists were utterly progressive in demanding education, the vote, and property rights for married women, today these formal legal equalities exist." (Eisenstein, 1981:230) Unfortunately, as a result of this, "those who narrowly define women's equality in terms of these citizen rights believe women have attained equality with men." (1981:230)

With this in mind, three main criticisms (of a feminist origin) will be applied to this particular school. First, is the school's inbred tendency to exclude a

significant proportion of women from its analysis of oppression as a result of some of the school's founding authors and its outlandish assumption that all women are equally disadvantaged; second, its naive link to the ideology of liberal individualism; and third, the fact that its demands are of a non-revolutionary nature due to its passive willingness to work within existing institutions.

Renowned socialist feminist Zillah Eisenstein notes that liberal feminism is "but one form of feminism, although both feminists and nonfeminists often mistakenly assume that it is feminism." (1981:4) Sometimes referred to as 'mainstream feminism,' this school has provided the basis for such well known feminist organizations in the United States as NOW (the National Organization for Women), and has fuelled legislative debates for equality as in the case of their ERA (Equal Rights Amendment). Although other feminist schools have much to offer, it is liberal feminism which has set the precedent for any societal change for women.

The position of liberal feminism, at center stage, reflects the broader and more general liberal bias of American politics. When liberal feminism is equated with feminism, other forms of feminist theory - be they radical, socialist, lesbian, black, anarchist, or some blending of these - are rendered nonexistent. The equation of liberal feminism with feminism also reflects the fact that liberal feminists identify themselves as feminists with little or no consciousness about the particular liberal political theory they adopt. (1981:4)

There is an interesting parallel here in the way that being branded as a "liberal" in the United States has come to mean a "socialist." This strategy, for example, worked for George Bush against Michael Dukakis in the 1988 Presidential race. As Winter (1992) points out, societal discourse is severely circumscribed if the entire political spectrum only stretches from conservative to liberal, or in the United States, Republican to Democrat; whom Noam Chomsky

(1991) has labelled corporate party number one and corporate party number two.

Perhaps one of the reasons why this school is seen by so many as a generic feminism is because of the inroads it has paved for legislative reform, and because many of its members are more readily acknowledged by society than feminists of other more demanding schools. Well known 'feminist' Betty Friedan, for example, emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s as the spokesperson for liberal feminism. (Eisenstein, 1984:189) Friedan was celebrated for her 1963 text The Feminine Mystique, and for her role in founding the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. (Eisenstein, 1981:192) Her book reached a substantial female audience which criticized the predetermined housewife role for middle-class women, and NOW is the largest feminist organization in the United States today. Although Friedan's work was indeed necessary to help further the feminist cause, much feminist criticism of it has surfaced over the years due to the liberal premises it is based on.

"And when women do not need to live through their husbands and children, men will not fear the love and strength of women, nor need another's weakness to prove their own masculinity"

Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique
(cited in Faludi, 1991:59)

Friedan's text demanded more for the middle-class housewife. Rather than being stuck in the monotony of constantly being at home for her family, the housewife should have ample opportunity to expand her horizons with the help of equal opportunity reforms. Friedan's writings were directed at the bored housewife who was tired of cleaning, cooking and shopping. But what was found to be problematic by other feminists from differing schools was twofold: her work was

based on liberal feminism, and that in turn contributed to the fact that it was directed to a narrowly defined group: the college-educated, white middle-class housewife.

Black feminist bell hooks notes in her book Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center that Friedan's famous phrase, "the problem that has no name" which is so often used to describe the condition of women in this society, solely and wrongly refers only to

... the plight of a select group of college-educated, middle and upper class, married white women - housewives bored with leisure, with the home, with children, with buying products, who wanted more out of life ... She did not speak of the needs of women without men, without children, without homes. She ignored the existence of all non-white women and poor white women... She made her plight and the plight of white women like herself synonymous with a condition affecting all American women. (1984:1-2)

Friedan, and the liberal feminist school, exclude too many women from their analyses of female oppression, and in so doing, overlook the gravity of the situation. It is bold to ask a feminist to confront her own class privilege, but if any progress is to take place, sincere acknowledgment must be made of those women who are fighting more than just sexism. Many Black feminists assert that one of their first priorities is to eliminate racial prejudice in America, and to do so requires the participation of all Blacks; male and female. As explained in Renee Ferguson's article "Women's Liberation has a Different Meaning for Blacks," once racism in America is eliminated and the Black family's stability problems have disappeared "more black women will be able to give first priority to the elimination of oppression because of sex." (1972:591-592) This is only one Black feminist's interpretation, but it can be noted with certainty that most Black feminists address the fact that their oppression is twofold. Equal opportunity reforms mean

little when one is held back from the workplace at the outset because of the colour of one's skin. Liberal feminists do not acknowledge that they are privileged in comparison to minority or poor women. This is wrong. Feminists such as Betty Friedan must realize that "bringing down the male supremacist system in this country will not be a possibility until we stop acting out our class supremacist attitudes on the women with whom we're building a movement." (Reid & Bunch, 1974:81)

The significance of all this lies in the fact that Friedan's work served as an introduction to 'feminism' for a grand proportion of women (and men). People then saw the need for women's liberation through Friedan's eyes. Her quest for liberation was the same for all 'feminists,' thus oversimplifying the problem and trivializing the more radical demands of other schools. This understanding of female oppression as only a lack of opportunity characterizes the liberal feminist movement, and results in an incomplete theory.

Friedan was a principal shaper of contemporary feminist thought. Significantly, the one-dimensional perspective on women's reality presented in her book became a marked feature of the contemporary feminist movement. Like Friedan before them, white women who dominate feminist discourse today rarely question whether or not their perspective on women's reality is true to the lived experiences of women as a collective group. (hooks, 1984:3)

This is one of the central criticisms not only of the early work of Friedan, but of the school of liberal feminism.⁴ Liberal feminism has the inborn tendency

⁴ Another important criticism of Friedan is based on her more recent book The Second Stage, (1981) where she charges that the leaders of the women's movement have "ignored the maternal call." (Faludi, 1991:318) In this book, Friedan contradicts her earlier writings by making her own contribution to the Backlash. As eloquently worded by Faludi, Friedan yanked out the stitches in her own handiwork (1991:319) by denouncing feminism and blaming it for women being antimotherhood and antifamily. Suddenly, one of the leading feminists was

to wear blinders against other oppressive factors such as race or class. Its obsession with equal opportunity reforms restricts its feminist analyses. As a school of critical feminist thought, liberal feminism does not challenge the fundamental power relations in society. This, in fact, is the result of applying an inappropriate theory to the overwhelming crisis of women's constant subjugation.

As with the work of Friedan, liberal feminism is based on the theory, or the ideology of, liberal individualism. Liberal individualism focuses on the idea of personal liberty. It purports that much of the tension which exists in society is a result of the unresolved conflicts between the individual and his/her quest for personal fulfilment. What it boils down to is the recognition of atomistic individuals and their inherent rights as individuals in a free society. As explained by Zillah Eisenstein in her text The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism,

By "liberal individualism," I mean the view of the individual pictured as atomized and disconnected from the social relations that actually affect his or her choices and options; by "individuality," I refer to the capacities of the individual conceptualized as part of a social structure that can either enhance or constrain his or her individual potential for human development. (1981:114)

In the case of liberal feminism, women's potential is restricted by a lack of opportunity to prove herself worthy of all the opportunities men take for granted, and women's liberation will come about once they obtain all that the bourgeoisie men have. What this school does not account for is the fact that social change should bring change to the oppressive structure itself rather than simply providing symbolic reforms. Society's existing structure has and uses power to limit the

claiming that "feminism and its excesses have become the enemy." (Eisenstein, 1984:190) cf. Susan Faludi's text Backlash, (1991) and Zillah Eisenstein's text Feminism and Sexual Equality; Crisis in Liberal America. (1984)

progress of women and the development of feminism, and as a direct result of this, the real problems are not even acknowledged.

NOW and the ERA are prime examples of liberal feminist reforms that are based on the ideology of liberal individualism. As a national organization, NOW adopts a liberal feminist analysis. (1981:193) Although NOW provided a crucial step for feminists of all schools, its dated demands for equal opportunity render it useless for needed revolutionary reform.

Its statement of purpose, first formulated in 1966, remains unchanged: "... take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society NOW, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men...." (1981:193)

What statements of intent such as this do not address is the fact that bringing women "into the mainstream," or into "equal partnership with men" will not change attitudes or the patriarchal base on which society was constructed. The goal of NOW is to fight for women's equality of opportunity, and its commitment is to creating an equal partnership with men, and this all involves struggling for women's equality **within** the law. (1981:194) This points to NOW's (and liberal feminism's) belief that the battle can be fought within existing institutions, and without a revolution. There is no discussion of the grand system of patriarchy, and how that system can and will make their demands difficult to achieve. Trying to simply extend liberal rights to women is no longer enough. The changes must be more radical in nature. NOW neglects to adequately address the sex-class system of society and thus does not realize that "woman's starting place in the 'race of life' is unequal to begin with." (1981:194) This is why the ideology of liberal individualism is not applicable.

NOW seeks to apply the 'value of the individual' to women. In this sense, it is inappropriately applying a blanket utopian strategy for all human revolutions to a distinctly oppressed group. The concept of 'equality,' however important, must be specifically adapted for its application to certain groups. To ignore this need is to ignore that a woman's oppression in society is unique solely because of her sex. Feminist causes rooted in the ideology of liberal individualism correctly emphasize the need for the individual to achieve in society, but do not address the fact that there are more powerful hindrances from sexual equality than just a lack of opportunity to take on differing roles in life.

The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) in Canada, on the other hand, has a much less "liberal" scope. In fact, its scope is more reflective of a socialist feminist perspective. This prominent Canadian women's organization fights for much more than equal pay for equal work and legislative reform. Their demands are much more extensive. Unlike NOW in the States, NAC fights for many different groups, and is also frequently involved in political debates. In addition to fighting for the status of women, NAC, for example, fights for the rights of the elderly, the handicapped, the sick, children, refugees, etc. NAC was involved in Canada's free trade debate (NAFTA), the battle over constitutional reform and frequently reviews federal government social policies. NAC's concerns go beyond NOW's liberal feminist demands, and is an organization which fights to improve the subordinate status of many.

The American Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is another case in point when it comes to a liberal focus. Although it was considered revolutionary at the outset (it was first introduced to Congress in 1923), it needs to be significantly

revised for the present. Creative feminists can use the amendment to their advantage to make headway against areas of interest such as the Right-to-Life movement, but essentially, the ERA represents a type of reform that is only symbolic, as demonstrated here by Zillah Eisenstein:

...it is important to decipher the difference between reforms of substance, which actually affect women's everyday lives (e.g., abortion reform and pregnancy disability payments), and reforms of the law, which are basically formal, symbolic, with little **direct** effect on a majority of women. Extending the draft to women is an example of a policy that formally gives lip service to the notion of woman's equality with men but does not affect women's unequal sexual status in the hierarchical organization of the armed forces or society in general. (1981:232-233)

The ERA is another example of reform based on the ideology of liberal individualism. It promises that each person will be treated as an autonomous individual rather than a member of a gender class, and in so doing, neglects to acknowledge the hierarchical patriarchal power structure. The ERA is a necessary piece of legislation, but without revision to update it from the 1920s, it will continue to be insufficient for the plight of feminists. The ERA represents patriarchal society's determination to sweep feminist demands under a rug in so far as "the ERA challenges the ideological statements of patriarchy but not the actual patriarchal organization of everyday life." (1981:234) The ERA is hailed as the solution to cases of sex class discrimination, when in fact it is only a stepping stone. This is an example of how the development of feminism is being curbed, and how the ideology of liberal individualism is an inadequate base for feminist theory. A feminist school has little power for radical change when its own theory (or lack thereof) does not specifically identify that a woman's fight for liberation and self-fulfilment is more arduous than that for a man.

This brings the discussion to the third criticism of liberal feminism: its tendency to demand reforms which are, in comparison to other schools, essentially non-revolutionary. This stems from the school's willingness to work within existing institutions. The demand, for example, for equal opportunity in the workplace appears to be directly fighting sex discrimination in the hiring process, but in fact only metaphorically deals with the problem.

Equal opportunity reforms in the workplace simulate female progress, while more often than not result in the hiring of 'token' women. The reality of the situation is that women have yet to make any weighty breakthroughs in the employment arena. This is evidenced by the fact that "80 percent of working women [are] still stuck in traditional 'female' jobs - as secretaries, administrative 'support' workers and salesclerks..." (Faludi, 1991:xiii) and they make up "less than 8 percent of federal and state judges, less than 6 percent of all law partners, and less than one half of 1 percent of top corporate managers." (1991:xiii) If equal opportunity reforms were as pervasive as the backslashers would have us believe, then there would be more than 53 Canadian women MPs after the October 1993 Canadian federal election (53 seems to be a pretty insignificant number when one notes that the other 246 electees were men; a 'record' number of women MPs who are, nevertheless, outnumbered by men and compose only 18% of the total).⁵ Nor do such reforms appear to have had a noteworthy impact on the U.S. political system, with only "three female state governors [a ratio of 17:1], and two female U.S. senators [a ratio of 50:1]." (1991:xiii)

⁵ Canadian Federal Election statistics obtained from Carol Goar's article "Women in Power: Making Haste Slowly," The Windsor Star, 9 March 1994, A(7). The political participation of women will also be addressed in chapter 2.

The liberal demand of equal pay for equal work, however necessary, is also fundamentally limited. It proposes that a woman should earn the same wages as a man of equal position and qualifications. If it actually worked, then Canadian women who are employed full-time would not on the average be earning only 71.8 per cent of men's salaries, as documented by the StatsCan report; nor would Lorraine Michael of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (in Canada) have noted that the reality is that the wage gap is probably widening, owing to increasing numbers of women in low-paying jobs.⁶ In the United States, American women only made "59 cents to their male counterparts' dollar" in 1988, and women in all full-time managerial jobs were denied the four-percent income boost given to their male co-workers in 1989. (1991:364) Faludi also noted that as much as half of wage improvement since 1979 was "due to men's falling wages, not women's improved earnings." (1991:364) This fact was also noted by StatsCan, which attributed the 'narrowing' of the wage gap to the "continued stagnation" of men's earnings. (Beauchesne, 1994:8[B]) Such liberal reforms as equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work simply are not enough to prompt significant change.

This is not to deny that women have made some progress over the years, but there is the possibility that more radical and worthwhile change may have taken place if those demanding reform had challenged the sexual hierarchical

⁶ The StatsCan information, as well as the opinion of Lorraine Michael were taken from the Windsor Star article "Gender Wage Gap Still Shrinking, Report Says; Women's group cites missing part-time stats" dated January 18, 1994 (section B, page 8). The 'shrinking wage gap' report was criticized by "a women's lobby group" because the group found that the report ignored "the growing number of women in low-paying part-time jobs."

power structure of society.⁷ Equal opportunity reforms work within the existing systems, thus permitting the patriarchal norm to continue. Liberal feminism's demands revolve around changing a woman's situation by bolstering her role within that situation. This does not change attitudes, nor does it address the fact that society is structured around a base that is sexually ordered. Women have to do more to change their situation than simply changing their role within it. Liberal feminism's tendency to reduce the problem to role playing undermines the chances of meaningful change.

In liberal discourse, persons are not essentially mothers, fathers, lovers, friends, scholars, laborers, eccentrics, dissidents, or political leaders but **role players**... A tendency to downplay the differences that pertain between, say, mothering and holding a job not only drains our private relations of much of their significance but also oversimplifies what can or should be done to alter things for women, who are frequently urged to change roles in order to solve their problems. (Elshtain, 1982:140-141)

As a school of feminism, the liberal school has addressed some key aspects of women's oppression, but at the same time has neglected to acknowledge the overriding power of the patriarchy which governs society. During the research for this section, only one non-liberal feminist author was found to express radical hope for liberal feminism, and that was socialist feminist Zillah Eisenstein. She

⁷ Here, 'sexual hierarchical power structure' refers to the way society itself is structured. Essentially, society is organized according to a highly specified male agenda, within which men hold a substantially greater proportion of powerful positions than women. Canada's history of all male Prime Ministers (excluding Kim Campbell's brief presence in the position in 1993), and the United States' exclusively male history of Presidents are prime examples. The fact that women are largely denied the opportunity to fill more important positions in society reveals the system as sexually hierarchical. The Moral Majority's Reverend Jerry Falwell evidenced this sexual power structure when he denounced the emergence of the ERA, claiming that "The Equal Rights Amendment strikes at the foundation of our entire social structure." (Faludi, 1991:232)

notes in her text The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism that it has the "potential for radicalism," (1981:3) but only when "one recognizes the role of the patriarchy on the state level." (1981:11) Eisenstein believes that liberal feminism can use its liberal origins and eventually transcend them, but only when it focuses much more attention on the fundamental power of the patriarchy. This is not to deny that equal opportunity reforms have had an impact on society, but liberal feminism's narrow focus on reform denies it the opportunity to challenge society's patriarchal consciousness.

In the broadest sense however, it seems that it is "only [the] 'liberal feminists' who 'cherish the illusion' that social equality can be achieved in a democratic capitalist country without a revolution." (Mitchell, 1971:66) The full liberation of women requires the dismantling of the patriarchy on which society was based, and the recognition that the problem is much more complicated than a lack of opportunity. This need is reflected by a socialist feminist perspective, a perspective which will also help establish a base for analyzing the sexist songs in chapter three.

SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Socialist feminism is one of the newer feminist schools. It gradually grew out of the consciousness raising groups⁸ in the late 1960s and early 1970s. More

⁸ The term 'consciousness-raising' refers to the process whereby women enter the movement frustrated with their private lives to find that the problem is a social predicament rather than a personal problem. In the words of Juliet Mitchell from her renowned text Woman's Estate, consciousness-raising refers to "the process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of the meaning of them as social problems, the release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political." (1971:61)

specifically, it was in 1969 that "two organizations central to the development of emerging socialist-feminist ideology and practice were founded: Bread and Roses in Boston, and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU)." (Philipson & Hansen, 1990:9) Although Bread and Roses lasted only two years, and the CWLU experienced its demise in 1977, both organizations had nationwide impact in the United States on the practice of socialist feminism.

Both attempted to be umbrella structures embracing and sheltering a variety of activities that included consciousness-raising groups, abortion referrals (before abortion was legal), a rape crisis hotline, demonstrations against sexist institutions and against the war, and, in Chicago, a women's liberation rock band. (1990:9)

A socialist feminist analysis of male dominance observes that the systems that oppress women are multiple in complexities and therefore extremely difficult to extricate. A socialist feminist understanding of patriarchal culture is broader in scope than its liberal counterpart, and calls for more drastic measures to aid in the emancipation of women as a sexual class. It is a school of broader range, and openly acknowledges that it is in the continuous process of development.

Leslie Steeves notes in her 1987 article "Feminist Theories and Media Studies" that a socialist feminist analysis of media incorporates the notions underlying British Cultural Studies into its framework, which respectively emphasize "the study of lived experience for an understanding of culture." (1987:110) She describes a socialist feminist perspective as one which includes a myriad of theoretical foundations, since the discipline of cultural studies has

Although some may jest that these sessions are nothing more than 'group therapy,' CR groups are crucial for the personal to be transcended into the political.

done the same:

Cultural studies have relied on various theoretical sources. These include the writings of the Frankfurt school, which opened up a reworking of the classical Marxist question of base and superstructure (Hall, 1980a, p.25), the structural Marxism of Althusser, Gramsci's writings on hegemony (1971), the structural linguistics of Barthes and Levi Strauss (Hall, 1980a, pp.29-31), the psychoanalytic structuralism of Lacan (1973/1977, 1956/1968), and Foucault's neo-Marxism (1972, 1977; see also Chang, 1986), which proposes discourse analysis to account for power that appears independent of base and superstructure. Socialist feminist writings also have been influenced by most of these people and groups, and socialist feminists have, in turn, influenced British cultural studies in their own right. (1987:110)

Steeves cites Althusser's essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," noting that his ideas have helped socialist feminists realize how and why women's oppression can and will continue in the absence of capitalist class oppression, as opposed to the more narrow focus of Marxist and structuralist writings. (1987:110) Steeves then proceeds to divide socialist feminist communication studies approaches into two separate groups: the first being influenced by a psychoanalytic perspective on fundamental gender inequality which focuses in detail on texts without the Marxist concern with class oppression; while feminists using the second approach add class oppression to their analysis of gender oppression in their study of gender representations in texts. (1987:110-111) According to Steeves the latter approach also includes those studies which examine gender relations in literary and mass media production, although she notes that broader textual analysis is practiced by the majority with this view.

For studying the underlying, often blatant sexist messages of songs of the Golden Oldie era of music, a socialist feminist perspective which is informed by a Marxist analysis of class oppression appears most appropriate. Although Steeves'

understanding of socialist feminism in communication studies is helpful, the writings of renowned socialist feminist Zillah Eisenstein will primarily be drawn upon to serve as the theoretical framework of this study.

Eisenstein's comprehension of women's oppression in a contemporary capitalist society borrows not only from Marxist class analysis, but also from the presuppositions of the school of radical feminism. She develops a focused interpretation of socialist feminism by transcending the comparatively specific approach of each, into the broader and more extensive perspective of socialist feminism.

To begin with, it is necessary to understand Eisenstein's usage of the now popular term 'capitalist patriarchy.' This term reflects socialist feminism's knowledge that in traditional and modern day societies, there exists the phenomenon of women's oppression, owing to male supremacy **and** capitalism. As defined by Eisenstein, socialist feminism is committed to understanding the "dynamic of power involved, which derives from both the class relations of production and the sexual hierarchical relations of society." (1979:1) She also notes in the introduction of her text Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism that this school is still very much in the process of developing both in theory and in practice. Although her pivotal text was published back in 1979, this fact is still true of the socialist feminist school today. Regardless of the text's date, her description of 'capitalist patriarchy' is still regularly referred to by practicing socialist feminists.

Although there are socialist women who are committed to understanding and changing the system of capitalism, socialist feminists are committed to understanding the system of power deriving from capitalist patriarchy. I choose this phrase, capitalist

patriarchy, to emphasize the mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structuring. Understanding this interdependence of capitalism and patriarchy is essential to the socialist feminist political analysis. Although patriarchy (as male supremacy) existed before capitalism, and continues in postcapitalist societies, it is their present relationship that must be understood if the structure of oppression is to be changed. (1979:5)

For Eisenstein, the development of theory must not only reflect reality, but for its proper usage, it must also represent a more utopian reality; one which may not directly coincide with the everyday. Liberal feminism poses the solution of reforming what already exists in society; socialist feminism proposes a complete restructuring of what already exists in order to do away with the oppressive forces. In this sense, CP represents what exists, and a socialist feminist analysis represents what should exist.

EVIDENCE OF A CAPITALIST PATRIARCHY

There is much proof that there is indeed a CP present in society, and such proof must be addressed. The fact that women still must fight for the most basic privileges such as equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work, (as evidenced by the liberal feminist battle) are just a starting point. The fact that Canada had to wait until 1993 to see its first woman Prime Minister further evidences the CP, when the unpopular reigning Progressive Conservative party threw Kim Campbell at the Canadian public as a last resort to win approval for the pending fall election (Campbell's term of office was virtually non-existent; consisting as it did of a prolonged election campaign which ran from June to November). The aforementioned statistic that there were only 53 Canadian female MPs elected in the most recent 1993 Canadian federal election, compared to 246 men, also

supports the CP's presence.⁹

The fact that child care in our society is mistakenly treated as a relatively unimportant activity further evidences the CP and is especially important because it involves the plight of more women than just those fighting for political office. This case deserves specific attention because it is one of the key arenas inside which women are subjugated, in the familial realm as well as professionally. The wages and salary scales of child care workers place them at or near the bottom of all occupational groups, and the job is often referred to as "women's work." As rewarding as this activity is on an individual level, on the societal level it is a thankless task. Single women with child custody face a daunting, if not insurmountable goal. Focusing on looking after their child(ren) may mean braving the economic hardships and social leprosy of the welfare system. Like their married counterparts, if single mothers work they take on the role of "supermom," with sole or primary responsibility not only for the children but for cooking, cleaning, shopping and running the household, in addition to a full time job.

Statistics Canada concluded in a 1990 survey (which involved about 13,500 people) that 72% of married women who work full-time prepare all the meals, 59% of them also clean up afterward; and 74% of them assume most of the housework

⁹ The original (and hasty, since their number was short 4 women) The Windsor Star article (titled "Cohen and Whelan among 49 Women MPs"), portrayed this number as a momentous win for women, quoting Shaugnessy Cohen (winner of the Windsor-St. Clair liberal riding) as saying that as a female, she thought it was a significant victory, adding: "I think it's just great. I'm glad I'm a woman." (October 26, 1993:A[5]) Although the article admitted that "the House remains a male-dominated arena," its overriding message heralded women for their progress, noting that "there they will be joining more women than ever before in the Commons." Hence, the article joined the Backlash bandwagon, proclaiming excitedly that women are winning the battle against sex-discrimination, while the statistics repeatedly reveal that the 'victories' really continue to be defeats.

(cleaning and laundry). When it comes to unpaid housework, Statistics Canada also concluded in April 1994, that "the value of unpaid housework in Canada ranges to \$319-billion a year and eats up nearly 25 billion hours of labour." (Mitchell, 1994:A[7]) From an economic standpoint alone, this situation is senseless.

Proposals which could go some of the way toward alleviating the situation, such as the national day care program promised by the federal Conservatives during the 1988 election soon fall by the wayside. Other existing assistance programs such as Unemployment Insurance are withering under the pressures of underfunding or, as in the case of the baby bonus, are removed entirely in exchange for dubious tax breaks for some women.

As Linda McQuaig (1993) points out in The Wealthy Banker's Wife, these are conscious decisions taken by policy makers, despite realistic, functioning alternatives. She notes that Canada has developed its way of thinking about the social welfare system by largely focusing its sights on the United States (which has a limited system), when in fact other nations, especially in Western and Northern Europe offer compelling alternatives. She notes that these countries, namely "[unified] Germany, ...France, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, spend far more on social programs than we do in North America." (1993:15) In Sweden, for example, child support benefits and housing allowances pay parents "a child allowance equivalent to roughly \$150 per child per month, with supplements for families with three or more children, until the child reaches sixteen, or older if still in school." (1993:76) Another example of a successful child benefit system for families is in Germany, which provides "a basic

monthly allowance of \$57 for the first child, \$106 for the second, \$180 for the third, \$196 for the fourth and subsequent children," totalling \$343 for a family with three children." (1993:77) For a family with four children this would total \$539 per month. When it comes to day care facilities, Sweden is again ahead of the game, since it "offers high-quality public child care from the age of about one year, allowing parents to put their child in day care as soon as paid maternity leave runs out," while parents only pay a small fee because the state subsidizes most of the costs. (1993:79) These facts are highly significant because these countries "do as well or better than we do in economic growth and international competitiveness." (1993:15) This demonstrates that better social programs can be implemented, and points to the fact that this lack of social help is actually an assault on true equality in Canada. This is the product of CP decision-making.

The policy makers who are responsible for the current situation are, as in the past, overwhelmingly middle and upper class males. The 53 Canadian women MPs elected in the 1993 fall election represent a slight improvement from previous elections, but this number of women MPs to men is simply not enough to prompt significant change. More importantly, the ratio is even worse amongst the real power brokers in the cabinet. Brian Mulroney, for example, only had 7 female ministers out of 35 when he was Prime Minister (only one fifth), and that number actually fell when only 4 women made it into current Prime Minister Jean Chretien's 23-member cabinet (below one sixth). (Goar, 1994:A[7]) Women in the powerful finance portfolios of cabinet are scarce, to say the least.

The attitude towards child-rearing, abysmal pay for women child-care workers, lack of a national day care system, punitive levels of welfare and

unemployment "benefits," lack of enforcement of child care payments, elimination of baby bonus payments and violence toward women supported by political inaction all demonstrate our capitalist, patriarchal system in action. This system could not be designed more effectively if it were the result of a planned and coordinated conspiracy. "Women's work" is of little value under the current system. In chapter two, additional verification of the CP will be addressed, including information regarding male dominance of the music industry.

Eisenstein strongly maintains that "the basic conflict that feminists must deal with is that in having everyday life define theory, theory cannot be defined in its totality by everyday life" (1979:3). If theory (i.e. liberal feminism) is only defined in terms of reality, than idealistically, it has little for which to strive. Thus, the crisis of CP is a reality, but there exists something better beyond it according to a socialist feminist perspective. As stated by Eisenstein, "theory must grow out of reality, but it must be able to pose another vision of reality as well." (1979:3)

For a clearer understanding of what socialist feminism is all about, Eisenstein explains its development by discussing the two other forms of theory from which it grew; the theories of Marxism and radical feminism. A socialist feminist perspective recognizes the inherent value of each and goes beyond their more specific approaches for a broader understanding of the complex oppression of women as a sexual class.

My discussion uses Marxist class analysis as the thesis, radical feminist patriarchal analysis as the antithesis, and from the two evolves the synthesis of socialist feminism. (1979:6)

According to Eisenstein, the importance of applying a Marxist analysis to the study of women's oppression is twofold, in so far as it provides a class

analysis for the study of power, and also provides a method of analysis which is historical and dialectical. (1979:6) She notes that by using the dialectical approach for understanding class and class conflict, the socialist feminist can also use it to "analyze the patriarchal relations governing women's existence and hence women's revolutionary potential." (1979:7) This 'potential' is not something the liberal school, for example, acknowledges. By only imposing reformatory change, the liberal school ignores women's inherent potential to surpass what has been ascribed to their sex, thereby viewing women as incapable of bringing about a revolution for their own emancipation. Socialist feminists do not make the same mistake. By addressing Marx's meaningful understanding of what is possible for people in an unalienated society, one which is free from class barriers and subjugation of the proletariat, socialist feminists realize the revolutionary potential of women as an oppressed class, and analyze the situation as such.

Marx's theories of exploitation and alienation are thus fundamental for a socialist feminist analysis. More specifically, "Marx's dialectical revolutionary ontology as it is presented in his theory of alienation [in a capitalist society] ... can be extended to the particular revolutionary potential of women." (1979:7) This 'theory of alienation' which Eisenstein describes is directly related to something Marx fondly referred to as "species life" within a communist society.

"Species beings" are those beings who ultimately reach their human potential for creative labor, social consciousness, and social living through the struggle against capitalist society, and who fully internalize these capacities in communist society. This basic ontological structure defines one's existence alongside one's essence. Reality for Marx is thus more than mere existence. It embodies within it a movement toward human essence. (1979:7)

Marx's conception of "species being" is crucial, because without it, "human

beings would be viewed as exploited in capitalist relations, but they would not necessarily be understood as potentially revolutionary." (1979:8) For Marx, those who were oppressed by the system (the proletariat) would be freed from their class shackles once the system of capitalism was destroyed. It was largely an economic interpretation, but nevertheless was useful because it comprehended the basic conflict which existed between the oppressors and the oppressed, and it acknowledged a degree of hope for the subjugated masses. Lack of such hope has been repeatedly demonstrated by liberal feminism, which observes that women are exploited, but not necessarily capable of or in need of a feminist revolution. By adapting such fundamentals of Marxian analysis, one can readily recognize women's potential for radicalism through revolution. This view evidences socialist feminism's understanding that for women to achieve their own 'species being,' more is needed than symbolic legislative reform. Women need to dismantle the sexual ordering of society, thus refuting their own low-ranking position in that assigned ordering.

Marx noted that there was a fundamental difference between "existence" and "essence" for those who were oppressed by the processes of capitalism. "Existence" was what was, and "essence" was what could be, or what was idealistically possible in an unalienated society. In this sense, so do socialist feminists, who not only maintain that women are fundamentally capable of achieving revolutionary emancipation as a sexual class, but who also understand the Marxian notion that there is a "dialectic between essence and existence which is manifested as a revolutionary consciousness in society." (1979:9) Marx's theory of power, which he uses to explain the inherent exploitation within the process of

capitalism, discusses power and powerlessness of the proletariat due to their relations to the modes of production. This theory enables socialist feminists to understand woman's place within the economic scheme of things, as they are an oppressed class because of their disabled participation in society.

Although a socialist feminist understanding of women's oppression uses a Marxist approach of historical materialism, it moves beyond it in order to properly address their low-ranking position within sexually prescribed conditions. Marxist theory traces conflict for men and women, solely to economic origins. This approach ignores the role of the patriarchy, and thus does not see a woman's oppression as unique, owing to her biology.

The social relations defining the potential for woman's revolutionary consciousness are more complex than Marx understood them to be. Marx never questioned the hierarchical sexual ordering of society. He did not see that this further set of relations made species life unavailable to women, and hence that its actualization could not come about through the dismantling of the class system alone. (1979:9-10)

When Marx acknowledged the oppression of women, it was only in terms of economic exploitation. He professed that women were oppressed in a similar fashion to that of men in a capitalist society in so far as they too, were mere instruments of production. For Marx, a woman's oppression stemmed from her role as reproducer within the institution of marriage. As reproducer, the woman served the capitalist system by providing new instruments of labour for it (children). Marx noted that because women's role within the private realm of matrimony was primarily economic, she therefore became a worker functioning for the purpose of the public state. This, in Marx's view forced her to become a piece of communal property, which closely resembled prostitution.

According to Marx, a woman is "just another victim," (1979:11) whose "oppression is her exploitation in a class society through bourgeois marriage and the family." Hence, her repression was undistinguished from her bourgeoisie-serving husband, since it stemmed from her class position as a facilitator of capitalism.

Marx saw women's problems as arising from their status as mere instruments of reproduction, and thus he saw the solution in the socialist revolution. In the **Manifesto** he wrote that "the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution, both public and private." The bourgeois family is seen in Marx's writings as an **instrument** of capitalist society, with no dimensions particular unto itself. (1979:11)

Although in The German Ideology Marx and Engels discussed the division of labour in early precapitalist society in familial terms (1979:12), it still was not sufficient acknowledgement of patriarchy's role in suppressing the possibility of "species life" for women. They noted that the sex act began the 'natural' division of labour in the family, because it resulted in the wife and child becoming "slaves" of the husband. The male figure of the family was thus interpreted as powerful, but only in relation to economics and class. Eisenstein notes that in The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, Engels mentions that in a monogamous marriage "the man represents the bourgeoisie within the family, [and] the wife represents the proletariat," (1979:13) but this analysis still is inadequate, because ultimately, it is not seen as problematical.

Marxist theory in part is useful for an analysis of women's oppression, but is inadequate alone. For this reason, one of the primary criticisms of the school of Marxist feminism is the fact that it is based on theory which has on many occasions been accused of being "sex-blind." (Barrett, 1988:8) This is not an unfair

criticism, although it should be noted that many Marxist feminists are attempting to transcend this reality in order to make the marriage between Marxism and feminism more palatable.¹⁰ In order to properly address the fact that a woman's oppression is distinct from that of a man's, the ideological role of patriarchy must be addressed. This leads into the significant contribution of radical feminism.

Radical feminism has an extremely sophisticated understanding of sexual power. It maintains that women's oppression is rooted in her biology, thus giving men the upper hand at the outset. This biological determinism inevitably leads to a sexual division of labour and society, which in turn is the cause of control for patriarchal culture. Rather than suggesting legal reform or a socialist revolution to usurp the power of the bourgeoisie, the school of radical feminism demands the complete dismantling of the patriarchy.

It is the biological family, the hierarchical sexual division of society, and sex roles themselves which must be fundamentally reorganized. The sexual division of labor and society expresses the most basic hierarchical division in our society between masculine and feminine roles. It is the basic mechanism of control for patriarchal culture. It designates the fact that roles, purposes, activity, one's labor, are determined sexually. (Eisenstein, 1979:17)

Socialist feminism acknowledges the validity of the radical understanding of patriarchy and sexual power, and openly recognizes its importance for comprehending the vast and inherent power of the hierarchical sexual structuring

¹⁰ As Michele Barrett notes in her text Women's Oppression Today; The Marxist/Feminist Encounter, the object of Marxist feminism must be to "identify the operation of gender relations as and where they may be distinct from, or connected with, the processes of production and reproduction understood by historical materialism." (1988:9) Barrett then states that it is therefore up to Marxist feminism to "explore the relations between the organization of sexuality, domestic production, the household and so on, and historical changes in the mode of production and systems of appropriation and exploitation." (1988:9)

of society. However, where radical feminism purports that sexism is rooted exclusively in biology rather than economics or history, a socialist feminist may disagree. As renowned radical feminist Shulamith Firestone mentions in her famous text The Dialectic of Sex; The Case for Feminist Revolution: "unlike economic class, sex class sprang directly from a biological reality: men and women were created different, and not equal." (1970:16) Thus, a woman's oppression is a direct consequence of her unique biology. This interpretation sheds a crucial light on the fact that women are indeed oppressed as a class simply **because** they are women, but on the other hand, misses the function of capitalism and history. Ultimately, the radical feminist understanding of the importance of biology clouds its vision for analyzing women's oppression in a broader context.

... the primary division in society is one between women and men. All other divisions - of economic class, nationality, race, and so on, - are derivative, or delusory, or secondary in significance and effect. (Cocks, 1989:8)

An evaluation of this argument shows how it is problematical. This would, for example, mean that there is a greater division between Barbara Amiel and Conrad Black than there is between that couple and another couple on welfare, simply because of gender inequality. In the radical feminist perspective, economic class is secondary to gender, but as the Amiel/Black analogy illustrates, this is not always the most appropriate way to analyze the situation. A more thorough analysis would most certainly emphasize economic class in its conclusions, because this has the power to divide people as well; including feminists.

There are many ways and reasons why middle class women never confront their own classism. They can intellectualize, politicize, accuse, abuse, and contribute money in order not to deal with it. Even if they admit that class exists, they are not likely to admit that their behaviour is a product of it. (Myron, 1974:40)

This points to the reality that economic class is a contributor to oppression. If feminists can be divided from one another by virtue of their economic class, then this perspective that gender comes before anything and everything is in reality, short-sighted. Radical feminism has a clear view of women's oppression as a sexual class, but tends to overlook this point.

According to a radical feminist perspective, the ascribed functions of women in society (i.e. childbearer) result from her biology, and the only way they can escape their oppression is to obliterate the patriarchy which governs society. As long as the patriarchy remains intact, so too will women's subjugation. In comparison to the school of liberal feminism, this demand for emancipation is more appropriate, in so far as it realizes that there will be no significant change unless there is a feminist revolution. Socialist feminism acknowledges the importance of this perspective, and brings it into more of a social context by aligning it with an analysis of history and capitalism. This further evidences the significance of the term "capitalist patriarchy."

As Eisenstein points out in Capitalist Patriarchy, patriarchy "should be understood not merely as a biological system but a political one with a specific history." (1979:20) Where many radical feminists determine that inequality is inequality in terms of nature, socialist feminism maintains that it is so in a more social and economic context.

If a commitment to restructuring sexual and class existence is needed then we also need a theory that integrates both. (1979:21)

Admittedly, socialist feminism is not without feminist criticism. It is accused, as are many other feminist schools, of not adequately addressing the crises of racism for non-white feminists. Black feminist author bell hooks notes

that even though socialist feminists "focus on class and gender, they tend to dismiss race or they make a point of acknowledging that race is important and then proceed to offer an analysis in which race is not considered." (1984:14) This criticism was evidenced by Zillah Eisenstein when she recognized race as an oppressive force, but then stated that "the focus upon the autonomous racial dimensions of power and oppression, although integral to a socialist feminist analysis, falls outside this discussion." (1979:22) One of the songs in particular by The Rolling Stones had racist implications, which will be addressed in chapter three.

Another criticism of socialist feminism is the alleged incompatibility of the two theories on which it is based. Some feminists claim that "attempts to create a synthesis between Marxism and feminism, termed socialist-feminism, have not recognized the depth of the antagonism or the separate integrity of each theory." (MacKinnon, 1982:9) This argument maintains that "these juxtapositions emerge as uncontrasted as they started: either feminist or marxist, usually the latter," and that the incompatibility of the two theories explicitly forces "socialist-feminists [to] come together and divide, often at the hyphen." (1982:9) The suggestion here is that two contrasting theories with shortcomings cannot be improved by combining them; something which in itself overlooks the importance of improving theories. These critics maintain that such a marriage of theory is wrong and essentially impossible because "socialist-feminism stands before the task of synthesis as if nothing essential to either theory fundamentally opposes their wedding." (1982:13) But for the purposes of this study, this 'marriage' is extraordinarily useful. Marx largely ignored the condition of women. On the other hand, radical feminism

ignores women's material conditions. Surely these two oversights can be corrected, with a stronger theoretical perspective as a result.

Socialist feminism is a feminist school which analyzes power in terms of class, and patriarchy. As established, it stands as a synthesis of the thesis of Marxist theory and the antithesis of radical feminism, and brings the study of women's oppression into a much broader context. It simultaneously understands the importance of economics, class, history, and patriarchy.¹¹ Its usefulness as a feminist school lies in its ability to address the multiple realities affecting women's condition, and appropriately calls for revolutionary measures for their justly deserved emancipation. The stamina of the interwoven oppressive forces must not be underestimated; they must be curtailed.

Socialist feminism... analyzes power in terms of its class origins and its patriarchal roots. In such an analysis, capitalism and patriarchy are neither autonomous systems nor identical: they are, in their present form, mutually dependent. (Eisenstein, 1979:22)

THE METHODOLOGY: SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

The methodology which will be used to analyze the songs of the Golden Oldie era is a semiotic analysis. A semiotic analysis, in general terms, is "the study of everything that can be used for communication: words, images, traffic signs, flowers, music, medical symptoms, and much more." (Seiter, 1992:31) It

¹¹ The socialist feminist definition of patriarchy is different from the aforementioned radical feminist definition: "the process of politically differentiating the female from the male, as woman from man. Patriarchy in this sense is the politics of transforming biological sex into politicized gender, which prioritizes the man while making the woman different (unequal), less than, or the 'other.'" (Eisenstein, 1984:90)

involves the interpretation of any sign, attributing specific meaning to it. For this case of music lyrics, sections of the songs in question shall be laid out for the reader, followed by an interpretation which will reflect the feminist theory on which the study was based. This is a qualitative study.

The normative explanatory purpose of qualitative research is to explicate the commonly held meaning of things. It is directed toward the subjectively held realities of social action. It considers social action from the meaning perspective of the actors. Meaning obviously resides at a number of levels... The norm of subjectivity is the demand that the scientist be responsible through systematic analysis for the meanings held at the level of social action approached. (Anderson, 1987:247-248)

Six categories will be used to organize and analyze the songs, each of which are based on the study's theoretical underpinnings. The songs which fell outside the six categories will also be addressed. Every reasonable attempt will be made to locate and explicate songs which do not neatly fit into the predesigned categories. For an outline of the methodological application of semiotics for these songs, please refer to Appendix B at the end of the paper. This appendix elaborates the semiotic research process by detailing what was required in a song, (i.e. keywords or key themes) for it to be categorized in a specific category. (An elaboration of the theoretical construction of the 'sexist' categories is discussed below.) Appendix B demonstrates what was searched for within the lyrics of a song so it could be categorized accordingly. The process of signification was applied to the words, and implicit as well as explicit meanings were examined.

Acknowledgement must be made of the fact that there are "multiple realities which govern the relationship among phenomena for the individual" (1987:248). Obviously, other readers of these texts may attribute different, and at times, contrasting, meanings to them. This is why the theory is fundamental to the

study, and will help to guide it. The lyrics will also be included so readers may avail themselves of other interpretations.

This study makes no attempt to establish causal links between music lyrics and people's attitudes. Nor does it include audience or survey data which might, or might not, support the semiotic analysis of the lyrics.

The use of semiotics is by no means new to qualitative research. Ferdinand de Saussure was interested in 'signifiers,' and defined semiotics as "the science of the life of signs in society;" (cited in Hodge & Kress, 1988:1) and Voloshinov's work of the 1920s provided a "close link between semiotics and the study of ideology," and maintained that "without signs there is no ideology... Everything ideological possesses semiotic value." (Hodge & Kress, 1988:19) Important to the study of semiotics is the notion of ideology and its overriding power; a point to be further explicated in chapter two.

Hodge and Kress also note that "a practical semiosis should have some account of the relationship of semiosis and 'reality', that is, the material world that provides the objects of semiosis and semiotic activity." (1988:23) The appropriateness of semiotics for this study is therefore evidenced, since the "objects" provided for the public and for the analysis are the songs. The importance of audience participation is also significant, since it is believed here that the messages they are receiving may reflect a sexist ideology (characteristic of such forces as the aforementioned Backlash), and any absorption that takes place consciously or otherwise is highly significant. The effects of such absorption are also important, but for the purpose of this study they are taken for granted.

Bill Nichols states in his text Ideology and the Image that semiotics is an

approach which is concerned with "the processes of signification." (1981:6) The songs and their respective lyrics will be analyzed semiotically, and then placed in the proper categories. Once this is done, it can be determined whether or not a significant proportion of the "Golden Oldies" music of the 50s, 60s, and early 70s was sexist in content. The process of signification will also contribute to the discussion of why this music is currently being heralded as "Golden," or "classical," when these labels may in fact be completely and possibly purposely misappropriated. These categories were arrived at in an abductive fashion, using both the theory and the lyrics of the songs themselves, and have been adapted over a period of about two years.

THE CATEGORIES

The categories which will be used to organize the songs of the Golden Oldie era are as follows:

1. Woman as Commodity/Possession
2. Woman as an Appendage of Man (with specific focus on the values of physical attractiveness and eternal youth in order to bolster the man's ego and societal image.)
3. Woman as Dependent
4. Woman as Having a Predetermined Place in Society
5. Woman as Victimized by the Sexual Double Standard
6. Woman as Voiceless

CATEGORY 1: WOMAN AS COMMODITY/POSSESSION

Marx determined, in his economic analysis, that the bourgeois priorities of capitalist society transformed social relations, especially within the family. In this sense, the woman's role within the family as reproducer serves to bolster the system, as mentioned in the previous section of Marxist theory.

The concerns of private property and possession pervade man-

woman relations. In "on the Jewish Question," Marx writes: "The species relation itself, the relation between man and woman, etc., becomes an object of commerce. The woman is bought and sold." The mentality of "having" twists species relationships into those of ownership and domination, and marriage into prostitution. (Eisenstein, 1979:10)

This Marxist understanding of woman as a possession for specific purposes was crucial for this category. Capitalist society's chronic need to accumulate property, known by Marx as 'commodity fetishism,' thus included people as well as material goods. This reduces the person (in this case, women) to being mere commodities (of men and) of the State. Woman is "bought and sold," and is therefore an attainable thing. Her "species being" is therefore not possible because she is owned, and thus her commodity characteristic only permits her to be possessed.

This theme was constantly reiterated in a significant proportion of the songs of this era. This was shown by a woman being 'kept' at home, or by the man's instinctive need to truly "have" her. Either way, this indeed reduces the woman to the point of merely being a commodity. The songs of this category include any in which the man verbally claims possession, ("I have you," "you're mine") or any in which the woman is at the complete disposal of the man (most specifically when he uses her for something, i.e., sex) or any in which the woman is an object or is compared to an object, such as a 'doll.' This theme delivers the message that a woman is not valuable as a person, but rather, as a commodity. She is usable and ultimately disposable.

CATEGORY 2: WOMAN AS AN APPENDAGE OF MAN

The beauty myth of the present is more insidious than any mystique of femininity yet: A century ago, Nora slammed the door of the doll's house; a generation ago, women turned their backs on the consumer

heaven of the isolated multiapplianced home; but where women are trapped today, there is no door to slam. The contemporary ravages of the beauty backlash are destroying women physically and depleting us psychologically. (Wolf, 1991:19)

This category encompasses those songs which value the woman's physical attractiveness and youthful characteristics to the exclusion of any other traits. Characterizing women solely by physical characteristics (which are stringently defined), renders things such as intelligence and/or personality irrelevant feminine qualities. As evidenced by Naomi Wolf in her acclaimed text The Beauty Myth, the societal value placed upon a woman's physical attractiveness and the Backlash are mutually dependent, in so far as:

...the contemporary backlash is so violent because the ideology of beauty is the last one remaining of the feminine ideologies that still has the power to control those women whom second wave feminism would have otherwise made relatively uncontrollable. It has grown stronger to take over the work of social coercion that myths about motherhood, domesticity, chastity, and passivity no longer can manage. (1991:11)

The primary 'purpose' of this value is twofold: first, it determines that a beautiful woman can improve a man's social status by complementing his appearance, thus evidencing his achievement and conquest; and second, under the CP system, a woman will be deliberately kept preoccupied by an obsessive concern over her appearance. This preoccupation will not only keep the woman dependent on the man for approval of her physical appearance, but will also predispose her to spend her income on beauty products and clothing, which ultimately boosts the processes of capitalism.

The beauty merchants incited fear about the cost of women's occupational success largely because they feared, rightly, that success had cost **them** - in profits. (Faludi, 1991:202)

This category will be divided into two subsections: one devoted to socially

defined prescriptions for physical attractiveness, and one focusing on the value of eternal youth, which will address the fact that "**looking** older is women's special problem." (Melamed, 1983:69) The songs will directly and sometimes indirectly, advocate that a woman should be more concerned over her appearance (as it appeals to men), rather than achieving any type of sexual equality.

CATEGORY 3: WOMAN AS DEPENDENT

The core of this category is based on CP's need to instill in the woman the 'understanding' that her position is one in which she is destined to be economically and emotionally dependent on the man in her life. The songs of this category put forth the view that the absence of a man results in a woman who is directionless, void of self esteem and/or confidence, and lonely to the point of desperation. This ties in with the patriarchal notion that women are indeed the weaker sex, and is reflective of radical feminism's understanding of sexual power.

Socialist feminism's emphasis on economics is crucial for understanding the woman's preestablished dependence on the man as the 'breadwinner,' while its radical implications recognize the cultural norm of a woman's emotional dependence. Either economically or emotionally dependent, or both, the image of women as the weaker sex is a prominent and disturbing theme throughout many of the Golden Oldies.

CATEGORY 4: WOMAN AS HAVING A PREDETERMINED PLACE IN SOCIETY

This category houses those songs where the lyrics depict a woman with a naturally predetermined and prerequisite place in society. That 'place' includes the home, by "your man," as nurturing mother, avid consumer, etc. The system

of capitalism (and the Backlash) demands this, and biology establishes who will fulfil these positions.

The capitalist patriarchal depiction of woman as only a reproducer, for example, pre-establishes her place under the system. As Marx discussed in his writings, woman's purpose was to serve capitalism, thus forcing her to become the proletariat within the institution of marriage. This identification of woman as mother ties directly into the contemporary backlash, as described by Eisenstein:

The sexual hierarchy used within the labor force is maintained through the definition of woman as primarily a mother. The sexual job ghetto within the labor force maintains this definition of woman as mother in that it places her in a secondary position within the labor force, reinforcing her primary position within the home. (1981:210)

Thus, none of her work is considered valuable under the system of CP. If she complies with society's preference and remains in the home, she is merely a 'homemaker' and/or caregiver and receives no wage for her labours, and if she chooses to venture outside the home, she is punished by being paid significantly less than a man with equal qualifications. As the system currently stands, there is no way she can win.

Instead, with each turn of the spiral, the culture simply redoubles its resistance, if not by returning women to the kitchen, then by making the hours spent away from their stoves as inequitable and intolerable as possible: pushing women into the worst occupations, paying them the lowest wages, laying them off first and promoting them last, refusing to offer child care or family leave, and subjecting them to harassment. (Faludi, 1991:55)

Simply stated, only if the woman remains in the home where she belongs will she fulfil her destiny and her duty as a woman. There she will not threaten the patriarchy because she cannot take a job away from a man; there she will continue to be the primary care-giver for the children (so a man can focus his

attention on more important things); there she can properly attend to the needs and wants of her husband without the conflict of an 'extracurricular' career; and finally, only there can she continue to be the perfect target for advertisers, "who still view the housewife as the ideal shopper." (Faludi, 1991:148) The songs which fall under this heading reinforce these positions for women in society.

CATEGORY 5: WOMAN AS VICTIMIZED BY THE SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD

By "double standard," this category refers to those songs which boast that a man who cheats is perfectly acceptable in society and all too often admired for his conquests, while the woman who practices infidelity is the equivalent of a 'tramp,' a 'slut,' a 'whore,' or a 'runaround.' Under the CP, the woman must remain faithful to "her man," and any deviation from that norm simply is not tolerated. This is evidenced by Faludi, while discussing CBS executive Harvey Shephard's view of a female character who had liberated sexual habits (explained in the text by producer Barney Rosenzweig):

The CBS executives were especially distressed by the character's varied romantic encounters. "Cagney's sexual habits [of "Cagney and Lacey"] were constantly under scrutiny, not only by the network but by the head of programming," Rosenzweig says. "I would say, 'You don't mind when Magnum P.I. has sex,' and he would say, 'That's different.' That Cagney slept with someone cheapened her, he thought." Shephard, CBS's programming chief, says he was worried that she would "come off as promiscuous," which would be a problem because then she wouldn't be "a positive role model." (1991:150-151)

Songs which emulate such sexist double standards will be the focus of this section. These songs deliver the patriarchal message that women must not deviate from the norms of society. If they choose to do so, they must accept the consequences (which, interestingly enough, do not exist for the 'sexually liberated'

men).

It is interesting to note, in this context, that the sexual revolution of the 1970s did very little for women in the long run. Midge Decter, author of the text The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation, maintained that the sexual revolution turned out to be just another way to oppress women. On the outside, it seemed as though the revolution brought woman into a new consciousness, accepting herself as a sexual human being who had a greater degree of freedom to think of herself as someone who could willingly practice and enjoy unconcerned sexual relations. Reality, according to Decter, was that the sexual revolution was a "sham:"

So much for the enviable freedom of the sexual revolution, said Women's liberation. Woman was freer than ever to make herself into an image that would be pleasing to men, freer than ever to submit to their sexual advances... in short, freer than ever to be their servants and playthings. (1972:79-80)

So although women supposedly obtained a right as a sexual class, it was simply another oppressive device. Women, as a sexual class, were not (and are not) to participate in such extracurricular pleasure. Women who practiced liberated sex were looked down upon back then, and are still considered deviations from the norm today if they do so. The songs of this category will evidence this further.

CATEGORY 6: WOMAN AS VOICELESS

Some of the songs of this era are completely void of women's voice, to the point where her presence is not even acknowledged. Songs where the mother of the household, for example, is seen to be quiet and helpless demonstrate the patriarchal idea that a woman is to be seen but not heard. Such a 'silence' is

present in some of the golden oldies, and interestingly enough, this is not interpreted as being problematical. The woman who is voiceless is not perceived to be out of the ordinary. It is cause for questioning whether or not such messages are accidental, or whether they are trying to stress the appeal of the woman who knows when to keep her mouth shut.

In times of backlash, images of the restrained woman line the walls of the popular culture's gallery. We see her silenced, infantilized, immobilized, or, the ultimate restraining order, killed. She is a frozen homebound figure, a bedridden patient, an anonymous still body. (Faludi, 1991:70)

Bell hooks notes in her text Talking Back, Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black, that a woman's voice is vital for her emancipation. She discusses the differences in the voices of white women and Black women in terms of feminism and in respect to the patriarchy which governs society.

To speak about feminism, those of us who are coming from different ethnic and racial backgrounds must first work to overcome the racism, sexism, and class exploitation that has socialized us to believe that our words are not important. (1988:154)

Her emphasis on her own voice as well as the voices of other women illustrate the importance of speaking out for women in general. The traditional idea that 'silence is ladylike' can no longer apply to the liberated woman. The longer women's voices are stifled, the slower the process of liberation. The music industry has in many ways taken away the female voice by being a largely male-dominated industry. Male songwriters, producers, and even disc jockeys have the power to silence the women of the industry; a point to be elaborated further in chapter two. Unconditional equality under the CP system will not be achieved so long as women are silenced by those who fear them.

It is time to interpret the meanings of these messages in the appropriate

context, and with the necessary critical edge. Women as a sexual class should no longer be silenced... nor should they have to remain tolerant of the capitalist patriarchal forces which oppress them.

CHAPTER TWO

According to musicologist Peter Wicke, rock music carries within it meaningful social significance. He notes in his text Rock Music; Culture, Aesthetics and Sociology, that

...records and songs are not isolated objects; they are symptoms of an extensive overall cultural context which owes its existence in equal measure to social and political relations as well as to the particular environment of its listeners. (1987:viii)

This understanding of music is crucial to this study, since Golden Oldies did not and do not exist in a vacuum. Music reflects the broader cultural milieu and it exists within a certain context. The social significance of this particular Golden Oldie era of music must not be overlooked or underestimated. Given the fact that this music reaches a substantial audience on a regular basis, it should be analyzed in critical terms, and not simply dismissed as just another form of 'entertainment.'

This chapter is subdivided into three sections. The first will discuss the social and cultural significance of music; the second, the ideological importance of music; and the third, the role played by the music industry itself. I do not see this music as a hypnotic force which stamps out programmed listeners. On the other hand, it isn't simply a harmless pastime. Rock music and its songs are seen as "a mass medium through which cultural values and meanings circulate, through which cultural values are passed on which reach far beyond the material nature of music." (1987:ix) Its social significance must be examined.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF 'LEISURE'

As mentioned in chapter one, historical significance is not something to be

overlooked in a socialist feminist analysis, due to its Marxian underpinnings. It is therefore necessary to include a brief history of the uses of music as well as an overview of the technological transitions which 'rock & roll,' as a media form, has made.

The usefulness of music for its listeners can be traced historically via an application of Marx's theory of alienation. Marx developed his theory of alienation through his analysis of the enslavement of the working class by the ruling classes' ownership of the modes of production. The personal identification with work decreased as "the growing automation of industrial production finally destroyed the traditional ties of the working class to its work." (Wicke, 1987:10) Briefly, according to this theory, it was the increased efficiency and pace of developing industrial production which forced the worker to become alienated from his or her own work. Traditional 'work' was transformed into daily routine tasks which ultimately served the insatiable profit needs of the ruling class; while it simultaneously exploited the workers over the products they created. This not only forced the worker to toil largely for the profit of the oppressive class, but it also alienated workers from one another, as specialization and efficiency increased within industry. According to Marx, workers were alienated from the products they created because they did not benefit from the profit they generated, and they were also alienated from one another due to the fragmentation and depersonalization of the entire process. Peter Wicke finds this theory of alienation significant, in so far as it encouraged the worker to crave a diversion from the monotony of everyday work. This diversion, or 'escape,' was to be found outside the workplace. The workers needed time for 'leisure.'

Work degenerated completely to a mere money-earning activity, to an interchangeable 'job', which was only encouraged by the trend towards a mobile and flexible workforce in this type of production. In this way, all the ideals of life were transferred to leisure, a transfer that gradually took place in all social classes and which was accompanied by an extensive expansion of the consumer goods sector within capitalist production industry. (1987:10)

This not only linked pleasure to the absence of work, but also connected leisure to consumption, since one's leisure time was often spent enjoying different forms of art, eating, shopping, and so on. As Stuart Ewen discusses in his 1976 text Captains of Consciousness, this shift from worker to consumer was highly significant.

As capitalism became characterized by mass production and the subsequent need for mass distribution, traditional expedients for the real or attempted manipulation of labor were transformed. While the nineteenth-century industrialist coerced labor (both on and off the job) to serve as the "wheelhorse" of industry, modernizing capitalism sought to change "wheelhorse" to "worker" and "worker" to "consumer." ...For the workers, the movement toward mass production had severely changed the character of labor. The worker had become a decreasingly "significant" unit of production within the modern manufacturing process. (1976:26)

The decreasing role of the worker in the workplace thus lead to the association between free time and consumption, a connection which, due to the absence of (the less significant) work, seemed natural and pleasurable. Leisure and consumption then became valuable for capitalist society, which "saw in these twin pursuits the only important realm of human fulfilment and believed the loss of purpose at work to be compensated by an increase of purpose in leisure." (Wicke, 1987:10) According to Wicke, as the enjoyment of work decreased, the personal reliance and enjoyment of leisure increased. Depending on leisure time rather than work for this type of personal fulfilment became commonplace, and regardless of whether or not it was a healthy substitute, leisure became a huge

component of people's everyday lives. Dallas Smythe, in his 1981 text Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness, and Canada also discussed the specific role of this 'leisure time,' arguing that since we spend such a great deal of that time serving manufacturers and advertisers, the idea that it is 'free' time is a myth.

...the endless proliferation of new commodities which clamour for their place in household consumption (e.g., electric can openers, electric carving knives, power lawn mowers, etc.) demands so much of so-called free time to buy, use, and maintain them that the idea of "free-time" has become ridiculous ...And thus far we have not mentioned mass media use, although it should be noted that workers are guided in all income and time expenditures by the mass media - through the blend of explicit advertising and advertising implicit in the program content. (1981:44-46)

The concept of 'leisure' thus evolved into a cultural necessity which was ultimately quite useful for advertisers and manufacturers. Capitalist society's dependence upon leisure to break up the workdays became conventional and meaningful. Still true of post-industrial society, leisure time is a means with which to cope.

... the process of increasing the value of leisure proved to be a cultural phenomenon with almost unlimited implications whose consequences were not restricted to the change in attitudes to work and the compensation in leisure for deficits in meaning and experience. The evolution of leisure into a field of personal development, experienced as increasingly important, also spawned cultural demands. This not only gave the mass media a new function, but finally led to a new type of involvement with art, which was then reduced to the level of the various forms of mass media entertainment. (Wicke, 1987:10-11)

Although there are competing explanations for why 'media' were 'invented,' as exemplified above, the social significance of music for this study is based in part on the understanding that society's emphasis on leisure time has led to the use of various media. As noted by Wicke in the above excerpt, leisure time

ultimately involves the use of one of a variety of mass media. People flop in front of the television after a hard day at work; they drive to the movie theatre for a relaxing evening out; and they listen and perhaps even dance to the irresistibly infectious beat of popular music.

In this sense, and for the purposes of this study, music stands as one of society's representations of leisure, and is a highly pervasive one at that. Music has an omnipresent quality: not only is it used for entertainment during leisure hours, but it is piped into elevators, automobiles, and restaurants as well as into homes. Its soothing quality slows shoppers in department stores and thrills audiences during climatic scenes in films. It catches attention during the sound bites of advertising, keeps joggers and walkers company via 'Walkmans' and is a marketed service as it helps the time go by when one is put on hold over the telephone. It is an ubiquitous component of everyday life and is undeniably one of the more pervasive media forms.

Music has always held an important place in society. From the traditional drumming of indigenous peoples, to Beethoven, to The Beatles, it historically has had the power to charm audiences. The comparatively new era of music, known by most as 'rock & roll' was, musically, a significant development. The media transitions it has made over the years have gone hand in hand with technological development, since "rock music owes its aesthetic and musical nature in large part to technology." (1987:12) In this sense, rock & roll has been part and parcel of technological advancement and industrialization.

What was really new about rock was its relationship with the means of mass communication - record, radio, television and film. American rock'n'roll found its basic conditions of existence in these media and accepted this fact without compromise as a prerequisite

for artistic creativity... Rock'n'roll was the first form of music to be distributed in mass quantities on record, the first form of music whose development was linked to radio, film and television. (1987:4)

Via the mass media, rock music became highly accessible and increasingly inexpensive over the years. Rock & roll evolved from the jukebox of the thirties, to CBS' introduction of the high fidelity long-playing record (LP) in 1948, to RCA's 45 r.p.m. single shortly thereafter. (1987:4-5) Each musical phase used the new technologies, rendering the product less and less expensive, which was key for the targeted adolescents. This mentality of higher accessibility for the masses was nothing new; it followed the principles of mass production. According to Wicke (1987:5) however, "probably the most far-reaching development in the realm of media technology was the introduction, directly after the Second World War, of magnetic tape for recording music." Not only did this again bring down the cost of owning this music, but it would also eventually allow the public to record their own preferred songs without having to leave home. The accessibility of popular music thus grew with technological advancement. Few people were denied exposure to this music, as radios became cheap with the marketing of transistors in the 1950s. The industry could not profit from the music if the masses could not be exposed to it.

Along with the film industry, the two media breakthroughs of TV and transistor, both hitting their stride in the 1950s, became important distributors of the rock & roll trend. Wicke notes that each medium incorporated the music more and more in order to better compete with one another. Since the music was growing in popularity, each made extra effort to include more of it. Film, for example, took great losses with the advent of television, and thus reacted to the

competition by "orienting themselves to a young audience which was trying to escape the new family ritual in front of the television screen. Rock'n'roll was the perfect aid in this." (1987:7) Soon films adapted the unconventional appeal of this music in popular movies such as "The Blackboard Jungle" (1955) which helped popularize the hit single "Rock Around the Clock." (1987:7) This song, years later, would serve as the musical introduction to the television hit sitcom "Happy Days," which further popularized this hit not only for the generations who were present during the show's initial broadcasting, but also those who would bear the brunt of the 're-runs' for years to come. The use of popular songs as soundtrack material is still common practice in the film industry today (examples will be addressed shortly).

Television made a valiant effort to broadcast this music. This was exemplified by the 1952 commercial programme "American Bandstand"¹² which was started in Philadelphia by WFIL-TV, and was transmitted beginning in 1957 every Saturday morning across America by the ABC-TV network. (1987:7) The show would last an hour and would televise teenagers dancing to the latest hits, and would also allow a different musical group to perform each week. This would give the groups themselves a chance to be publicized right along with their current Top 40 song. Needless to say, rock & roll music was not suffering from a lack of exposure.

¹² The host of this television hit, Dick Clark, is still heralded as the guru for the Billboard Top 40 hits of the Golden Oldie era. Not only did he have other related television specials years later which played the music videos of the top rock & roll songs, but he demonstrated his multi-media personality by hosting weekly Top 40 countdowns on various radio stations. Still enjoying his rock music status today, he hosts countdowns on the popular music and Oldie radio stations.

exposure.

... most people's contact with music was via record, radio, and television. Rock music was the product of the social processes provoked by these changes... (1987:9)

Music became a significant part of people's lives, and although 'rock' was aimed at teenagers, adults too were affected by it, perhaps simply because it was a meaningful part of their children's lives (who would bring it into the home). The importance of its pervasiveness however, not only lies in its role for leisure, but its role as a form of expression as well.

As rock & roll made its media transitions, it also embodied messages for its listeners. From accounts of blind love to protesting the atrocities of war, the songs expressed the prevalent emotions characteristic of the time frames within which they were recorded. Music became a representation of at least some aspects of the society. Not only did it represent the time set aside known as 'leisure,' but it also represented the twists and turns that the culture experienced. In this sense, music also represented the dominant cultural themes. In the 50s for example, when drag racing, malt shops and 'sock-hops' were popular, 'fun' songs such as "Rock Around the Clock" were smash hits. In the 60s (and 70s), when the nation was fragmented by the war, songs of a much more serious tone surfaced, such as "American Woman" by The Guess Who and "War" by Edwin Starr. As these songs illustrate, rock music more often than not followed reigning societal and cultural cues. It had the innate power to carry fervently sombre messages; a characteristic many would first associate with 'folk music.' Each music category, however, be it "folk music, [or] popular music, is the direct expression of a people in every epoch and culture." (Perris, 1985:203) A number

of the songs periodically articulated what was dominating the social consciousness at the time, whether it was done conventionally or controversially.

The conflict between the generations only broadened when the Johnson administration began to sacrifice the country's young men on the altar of a senseless and inhuman war in Vietnam. Bob Dylan, and with him Joan Baez, Phil Ochs and Tom Paxton, became the mouthpiece for this generation of American teenagers. (Wicke, 1987:101)

Such socially significant themes as anti-war and anti-racism were nothing short of profound and crucial. These examples were used here to demonstrate that the media giant 'rock & roll' had the potential to serve as more than a distraction during 'leisure time.' It also represented some of the prevailing cultural themes and attitudes of society. Music comprised a significant component of people's amusement during hours of freedom, but the fact is that not all of the musical messages were in tune with what, looking back, is socially appropriate. Those songs which portrayed women in a negatively stereotypical light are altogether different from those which communicated the universal need for benevolence and philanthropy.

THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF MUSIC

Having established the social significance of this music, it is now crucial to address the possibility of its ideological influence. The anti-war songs of the 60s and 70s helped generate the needed emotion and support to demonstrate against the war. If this was possible, then it is also entirely possible that the sexist songs helped generate tolerant attitudes towards discrimination.

As mentioned earlier, the idea that music is an all-powerful source for thought control is not tenable. The author is not trying to convince the reader that brainwashing is an immediate consequence of exposure to this music. As will

be demonstrated in the next chapter, these songs exude sexism, but an open-minded individual will not suddenly become chauvinistic solely as a result of listening to these Golden Oldies. What is being suggested is that consistent exposure to a form of popular culture which promotes and condones sexist attitudes is not without its negative consequences. This music may not transform individuals (and society as a whole) into raving anti-feminists, but it may condition their acceptance of outdated social norms. This is one of the reasons why the presence of a dominant 'ideology' is fundamental. When an audience decodes the texts transmitted from a particular medium, the effect dominant ideologies have on that process are highly relevant. Rather than focusing all attention on the medium itself, it is necessary to address ideological effects and how "the whole cultural complex affects us." (Cormack, 1992:20) In this sense, this music is not perceived to be a source of mind control; instead it makes a contribution to the dominant ideology. When the audience's decoding activity is coupled with this "cultural complex," then "it becomes clear that the strongest effect is likely to be one of reinforcement, rather than conversion." (1992:20) It is believed here that this music contributes to the Backlash against women's progress; it does not make it.

Before discussing the ideological ramifications of absorbing overtly sexist music, it is first necessary to define the term 'ideology' as it is understood here, since there are many different understandings and applications of the word. The expression 'ideology' itself was "invented by Cabanis, Destutt de Tracy and their friends, who assigned to it as an object the (genetic) theory of ideas," (Althusser, 1976:32) but the interpretations of the term are not quite as specific, as

demonstrated here by Cormack (1992):

As the following four quotations make clear, there is no shortage of competing accounts.

1. The theory of ideology states that the ideas and beliefs people have are systematically related to their actual and material conditions of existence. (Janet Wolff)
2. Ideology is how the existing ensemble of social relations represents itself to individuals; it is the image a society gives itself in order to perpetuate itself. (Bill Nichols)
3. Ideology... is a term used to describe the social production of meanings. (John Fiske)
4. Ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects. (Louis Althusser) (1992:9)

Although each of the above definitions has merit in its own right, for the purposes of this study, ideology will have a more specific meaning. Cormack (1992), has a very useful understanding of the term. For Cormack, ideology "is concerned with how we as individuals understand the world in which we live." In this sense, ideology represents the world view of individuals. Obviously, this understanding of ideology "involves the complexities both of individual psychologies and of social structures." (1992:9)

Rather than simply existing, ideology has a distinct function. Ideology haunts perception and influences attitudes. It frames one's understanding of the world and its peoples, while allowing one to believe that that particular understanding is solely based on personal experiences. Interestingly, although ideology is omnipresent and powerful, it is infrequently based exclusively on fact. It helps make situations feel familiar when they are not, and sustains stereotypical definitions by keeping them readily available. Ideology conveniently understands the world first, and then interprets that world for society. Ideology is not an omnipotent being who predetermines how and why people act; rather, it exists as a framework from which to base one's understanding of phenomena. As described

here by feminist Susan Griffin, when a theory is transformed into an ideology, it inevitably loses its connection to what is real:

It organizes experience according to itself, without touching experience. By virtue of being itself, it is supposed to know. To invoke the name of this ideology is to confer truthfulness. No one can tell it anything new. Experience ceases to surprise it, inform it, transform it. It is annoyed by any detail of truth, now it denies any truth which does not fit into its scheme. Begun as a way to restore one's sense of reality, now it attempts to discipline real people, to remake natural beings after its own image. All that it fails to explain it records as dangerous. All that makes it question, it regards as its enemy. Begun as a theory of liberation, it is threatened by new theories of liberation; slowly, it builds a prison for the mind. (Griffin, 1982:280)

Griffin's understanding of ideology is that which is beyond having to comply with accuracy. It governs without knowledge and makes change excruciatingly difficult. Like the bigot whose mind is closed to anything beyond prejudice, ideology serves only its own purpose. It cannot be bothered by the trivial facts which comprise truth. It would be naive to presume that one is unaffected by the dominant ideology which defines culture and society. Regardless of the individual, ideology somehow, somewhere, shapes some understanding. Positive inner strength lies within the sincere acknowledgement that one is not immune to it. Hope rests with those who are aware not only of its power but the need to be critical of it. Although this study takes a critical perspective, it too, is inescapably shaped by ideology.

In order to grasp what follows, it is essential to realize that both he who is writing these lines and the reader who reads them are themselves subjects, and therefore ideological subjects (a tautological proposition), i.e. that the author and the reader of these lines both live 'spontaneously' or 'naturally' in ideology in the sense in which I have said that man is an ideological animal by nature. (Althusser, 1976:45)

The ability to think with a critical edge stabilizes chances for positive

change. Once we realize that the dominant ideology is an unacceptable framework on which to base one's understanding of the world, part of the battle is won. This is one of the postulations of this study. Listening to this music with a new critical awareness will help combat the patriarchal¹³ ideology which purports that women are inferior creatures. Awareness begins once one realizes that there is more to this music than a catchy beat.

For this music, the significance of the presence of ideology is twofold since music creation is inevitably affected by the dominant ideology. In reference to the actual creation of the music, the assumption that the writer/producer/singer is unaffected by the dominant ideology is a naive one. Arnold Perris, author of Music As Propaganda; Art to Persuade, Art to Control, addressed this when he asked: "But suppose the creative artists accept the official ideology. Are they inhibited?" (1985:4) If this is true, then those who created music in "the good ole days" of the 50s, 60s, and early 70s were influenced by the patriarchal norm of male dominance and women's oppression. Sexist ideology was dominant during those decades, so it only stands to reason that the music would therefore reflect it. Obviously the idea that women 'belong in the kitchen' rather than in the workforce was a much more acceptable opinion to hold in the 50s and 60s than it is now,¹⁴

¹³ Since a socialist feminist understanding of the term 'patriarchy' (although there are indeed different interpretations of the term within the school) is "the politics of transforming biological sex into politicized gender, which prioritizes the man while making the woman different (unequal), less than, or the 'other,'" (Eisenstein, 1984:90) patriarchal ideology can be understood as that which sustains this difference and superiority based solely on biology, which in turn makes 'discrimination' a political and cultural event.

¹⁴ There has been a significant change in the proportion of women participating in the workforce since the 1950s. In 1951, slightly less than one-quarter (24.1%) of all Canadian women were in the labour force; by 1971 this figure had risen to

although even then, a significant proportion of women were working. The start of the women's liberation movement in the early 70s was a key factor in this evolution; it was no longer socially acceptable to blatantly proclaim women's subjugation within traditional roles. Oddly enough, however, although it started to become a social faux pas to discriminate in conversation, it apparently was still acceptable to do so in a song, and judging by the presence of these Golden Oldie "classics," this is still true today.

This leads the discussion to the possibility of ideological indoctrination on the part of the listener, resulting from repeated exposure to this music. This includes the baby boomers who grew up with this music as well as the newer generations who know them as Golden Oldies.

... whether or not the lyrics are understood verbatim, popular music has been one of the most effective and underestimated methods of ideological indoctrination in youth culture of the late twentieth century. (Becker, 1990:3)

The threat of ideological indoctrination becomes all the more distressing when the music reflects negative preconceptions, such as sexism. The assumption that today's youth is not familiar with this music because of a lack of exposure is erroneous. The music industry cannot rely solely on the purchasing power of the baby boomers who are overcome with nostalgia. Once the baby boomer market disappears, the only market left for the "oldies" will be those who did not grow up with the music, and that means targeting the newer generations. The process of familiarizing today's youth with the hits of yesteryear has taken

39.9%, and by 1986 over half (55.4%) of all women 15 years and over were employed or looking for employment. This is an increase of 85.2%. (Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, 1990:13)

many forms, but they all have one thing in common: dissemination via mass media.

Advertising is one of the key vehicles used to introduce these songs to audiences of all ages, especially the younger market. The popular beer commercial which features the 1968 Steppenwolf hit "Magic Carpet Ride" is a prime example, as are the Chic women's blue jean commercials which feature Aretha Franklin's 1967 tune "Natural Woman." Both commercials are quite obviously geared for the younger audience since the beer commercial portrays a string-bikini-clad young woman on the public beach and a young man wearing a t-shirt and jeans (NOT a skimpy bathing suit) who attracts her attention by filling his cowboy boot with beach water, so he can pour it around her in a large circle. He then offers her a beer when the circle turns into a private island. The Chic blue jean commercials portray stressed-out young women who only need their brand-name jeans to help them unwind after a long day, thus the appropriateness of the theme song "Natural Woman (You Make Me Feel Like)." Apparently no career or amount of self confidence can do for a woman what a nice pair of jeans (or a man, as the song implies) can do.

Films have also proven to be a useful means for introducing or re-acquainting the public with the songs of yesteryear. The blockbuster film "The Big Chill," for example, (released in 1983) is an excellent example because of its re-introduction of the song "I Heard It Through The Grapevine" (sung by Gladys Knight & The Pips in 1967 and then by Marvin Gaye in 1968). In fact, current films such as "Pretty Woman" (1990), "Mermaids" (1990), and "Ghost" (1990) (just to name a few) have all found great success in re-popularizing older hit songs.

"Pretty Woman," starring Julia Roberts and Richard Gere brought back Roy Orbison's 1964 hit "Oh, Pretty Woman (in this hit film, Roberts played the part of a prostitute);" "Mermaids," starring Cher and Winona Ryder re-introduced audiences to Jimmy Soul's one-time 1963 hit "If You Wanna Be Happy;" and "Ghost," starring Demi Moore and Patrick Swayze spotlighted The Righteous Brothers' 1965 "Unchained Melody," which turned it into such a 'new' smash hit that it was rated number one on the Oldie countdowns of two separate radio stations years later. (CKLW FM 93.9 in Windsor rated it number one in its 1993 summer "Top 500 of All-Time" countdown, and OLDIES 104.3 FM WOMC in Detroit found the song in the number one position in its 1993-94 New Year's "Top 104 Countdown.") The popular culture industry has and will continue to feature Golden Oldies in its realms of entertainment; it would be foolish to pass up the opportunity to profit from ready-made material. All it takes is a little exposure and an audience which will want to hear the songs again.

Consequently, today's youth are familiar with this music, and it's a safe assumption that if the parents are listening to the music in the home or in the car, then so are their children. As Audrey Becker noted in her 1990 journal article "New Lyrics by Women: A Feminist Alternative," popular music serves as a medium for ideological indoctrination as well as entertainment for those who comprise society's youth. This is due in part to the fact that adolescents all too often idolize popular performers such as those prevalent in the rock & roll industry.

... the images performers project are instilled in the youth culture. Youths strive to emulate their idols, and, as they grow up, the ideas are transferred to adult culture - resurfacing in the ideology of the entire society. The performers' public images reflect their lyrics,

thus reinforcing the ideology they promote. (1990:2)

Since youth's appreciation of the music can take the form of sheer reverence, it's only logical to assume that the messages within the songs can have a lasting effect. This in turn affects the youth culture itself, and the way they treat one another. For Becker, the overall messages disseminated via popular music are especially important in respect to the young female component of the listening audience. Young women constitute an especially weighty segment of the fans of popular music because they are in fact the primary buyers of it. (1990:2) If then, one takes into account that youth are ultimately affected by the music they listen to, then the fact that young women make up the largest proportion of its buyers is all the more distressing.

... the industry, in its promotion of certain acceptable female roles, must assume responsibility for the propagation of negative stereotypes and the inundation of sexist material. In either case, the women who buy the albums are consequently buying an image. (1990:2)

Whether that image depicts submission, sexual obsession or maternal instinct, it has the power to affect the young woman who is listening in so far as she may wish to emulate the qualities of her favourite female (or male for that matter) performer. Similarly, the lyrical image also has the power to affect the young male component of the audience, as he may desire or expect his female counterpart to pattern herself after these images as well. The female image in music is more than a form of entertainment. Like advertising, it is powerful enough to dictate standards of female action and beauty. In this sense, because these messages are assimilated by youth and perceived as norms, this music as a whole has the innate capability to ideologically indoctrinate its young listeners.

Reverence held for popular performers can lead to a bond of trust between them and the listeners; a pseudo-camaraderie which communicates the dominant ideology, regardless of the consequences.

This leads into a discussion of the more clinical notion of preconscious processing, since the basic assumption here is that this music can be absorbed subconsciously, which can thus lead to indoctrinating the recipient with the dominant patriarchal ideologies, or simply reinforcing personal beliefs synonymous with them.

The empirical goal of this study is to document the existence of, and the nature of, sexism in these lyrics. This is therefore not an effects study. That particular question is left to future research. It is assumed here that music containing sexist lyrics cannot help but be reflected via sexist attitudes, values and behaviour in society. It is, however, thought to be worthwhile to briefly address the question of the role of the subconscious. Given that listeners may claim they are unaware of the actual lyrics of these songs, (and are thus simultaneously oblivious to their sexist nature) the question of subconscious impact is a consequential one.

The possibility of the subconscious having the power to influence is therefore highly significant. Norman F. Dixon, author of the text Preconscious Processing, based his writings on "the fact that brains can respond to stimuli [to] which minds remain oblivious." (1981:2) This belief supports the possibility that listeners may be subconsciously absorbing the messages inherent in this music, whether or not they are consciously aware of the process. Dixon notes that "the capacity of the brain to process information does not depend upon, nor necessarily

include, conscious representation of this information." (1981:1) In other words, there is a chance that by listening to sexist music, (while perhaps singing along), one may adopt the values in the messages without subjective awareness.

One reason for resistance to accepting the possibility of perception without awareness is that in normal waking life the processes responsible for phenomenal representation and those concerned with mediating between external stimuli and overt responses appear to work as a single unit. Hence the monolithic nature of their combined operation has given the erroneous impression that, since they appear inseparable, information transmission can never occur without conscious representation. (1981:10)

In his text, Dixon cites several clinical studies which provide support for the prospect of preconscious processing, each of which provide evidence for the idea that people are indeed affected by their own subconscious memories. The studies include such topics as 'memory without awareness,' 'perceptual defence,' and the 'effect of subliminal stimuli upon verbal behaviour.'¹⁵ The idea that auditory stimuli can have an affect on the listener at a non-voluntary, subconscious level has thus been documented. Again, this information is not to support any notion of thought-control by popular music, but rather reflects the possibility of sustaining, reinforcing or even introducing sexist attitudes via pervasive media. Although sexist messages inherent in music may not appear to overtly affect the

¹⁵ Regarding memory without awareness, for example, Dixon cites the work of M. Martin, who in his 1978 research "has shown that unattended material may in fact access a memory system with large capacity and very slow rate of loss" (1981:90). Martin's research, presented in his article 'Retention of attended and unattended auditorily and visually presented material' (in *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*), addressed pre-perceptual or pre-categorical auditory storing. When discussing Martin's research, Dixon noted that the findings were consistent with the data of other experiments, which "have shown the relatively long-lasting effects of unattended stimuli on subsequent behaviour" (ibid). Such information supports the possibility that sensory inflow can indeed be unconsciously registered.

listener, the chance of unaware absorption is all too possible. This in turn can affect the individual's perception, whether that initial processing occurs while listening, or while singing along word for word simply because a rollicking beat accompanies the lyrics.

Psychoanalyst and theoretician Jacques Lacan's innovative theories on the nature of language and the structure of discourse are also extremely useful for this case. Probing the contributions Lacan has made to the field of psychoanalysis and the theories of language and signifiers, Jacques-Alain Miller had this to say about the role of the unconscious in his essay "The Analytic Experience: Means, Ends, and Results:"

...the analyst is no master of the unconscious. There is, nonetheless, an analytic know-how of the unconscious - for instance, a know-how in the analytic experience of eliciting transference, of introducing a suffering person to the analytic experience - that is, to the directed experience of the unconscious. But this know-how provides no mastery of the unconscious; on the contrary, it is the knowledge that all know-how is derailed, foiled, thwarted, by the unconscious. In this Freudian field, repetition does not preclude surprise, but breeds it. The unconscious repeats, but is nevertheless unforeseeable in its manifestations. (1991:86)

Here, Miller emphasizes the fact that the unconscious is "unforeseeable in its manifestations" and thus can operate without the presence of the conscious. This operation of the unconscious is significant, in so far as "we internalize ideology and thus are not easily made conscious of its presence or its effects; it is unconscious." (Turner, 1990:27) So logically then, if the unconscious has the power to be "unforeseeable," then it can also be seen as "the core of our individuality, a product of our nature." (1990:86)

This supports Lacan, who maintains that the unconscious is structured by language (Miller, 1991:87) which inevitably means that it is also structured by the

dominant ideology. Language is an agreed upon set of symbols and meanings which invariably fall under dominant codes. This in turn predetermines the shape and tone of the discourse, so it will also follow the guidelines of the dominant ideology.

Lacan appropriates the model of structural linguistics from Saussure, and argues that our unconscious is a sign system too, that functions like a language ...The *langue* of our unconscious is not produced by a unique individual, but by culture. Just as we learn to speak in the language and customs of our culture, and are thus in a sense constructed through them, our unconscious too is formed through the perceptions and language of others. Our view of ourselves is composed from a repertoire given to us, not produced by us, and so we are the subjects, not the authors, of cultural processes. (Turner, 1990:28)

In the case of these songs, it is maintained here that since the lyrics are composed of a sexist language, then that language can thereby affect one's unconscious perception. If Lacan is right, and the unconscious is structured by language, then it only stands to reason that a sexist language can help create a sexist unconscious. 'Readings of resistance,' on the other hand, where it is believed that people can interpret things in a counter-hegemonic fashion by resisting the dominant reading of the text are not completely ruled out here, (since it is obviously entirely possible to interpret these songs with a critical edge) but it is difficult to fight that which has the power to affect one at the subconscious level. Regardless of one's interpretation, the intended meaning of the text is still there.

Your practice of interpretation begins *par excellence* when it will not change anything for the author. You may certainly change the

meaning of what he wrote; but you will not change the *jouissance*¹⁶ that he had in doing his work. (Miller, 1991:86-87)

The intended meaning then, is there, and although it can be argued that there are various interpretations of a particular text, it is entirely possible that the unconscious will pick up the original meaning.

For today's youth, this may provide an introductory or supportive framework to base their perception of women's 'place' in society. For the baby boomers who grew up with the music, it may reinforce those patriarchal conceptions which they were originally exposed to when they themselves comprised society's 'youth.' Music as a whole is a highly influential form of mass medium because it is "doing something to everyone who hears it all the time. It is an art which reaches the emotions easily, often (always?) ahead of intellectual awareness." (Perris, 1985:6)

This final point, offered by Arnold Perris in his aforementioned text, further supports the idea that music can indeed be ideologically indoctrinating. By addressing, for example, what was musically prevalent during Adolf Hitler's abhorrent reign,¹⁷ Perris evidenced the ideological stranglehold that music has over a culture or society.

¹⁶ "Lacan envisioned the analyst at a delicate point in the middle of *jouissance*, knowledge (an imaginary function of idealization), and truth at the place of a hole in knowing, being and feeling he called the place of desire." (Ragland-Sullivan, 1991:2) The concept 'jouissance,' then, can be understood as a type of middle-ground between what one knows and what is the truth.

¹⁷ Shortly after Hitler rose to power in 1933, for example, the "Nazis laid down rules for popular music. Musicians were admonished to use the major key, to sing words 'expressing joy in life rather than Jewishly gloomy lyrics..'" (Key, 1985:55) Had there been no influence attributed to music, such practice may not have been seen as so crucial.

Music's cultural establishment as a useful and worthwhile form of mass media enables it to reach a substantial proportion of society, which thereby affects it. "When we hear an old and familiar song that is familiar because it is part of our culture, even a fragment will arouse the established meaning." (Perris, 1985:6) Concern should grow when that 'established meaning' is a negative one, entertaining with musical versions of the dominant patriarchal ideology.

The key tool for challenging the stimuli in the first place is a critical consciousness. Although the critical mind is not totally impervious to all stimuli, it is wholly capable of using that critical awareness in a beneficial manner. "Conscious, critical awareness could mean trouble for both publisher and broadcaster... [because] critical awareness might lead viewers and readers to decide they don't like what is being done to them." (Key, 1980:88) Industries which rely on the audience or the consumers' blind loyalty fear the critical consciousness and any readings of resistance. It makes manipulating the masses difficult.

The discussion now turns to the music industry itself, which has had the unfortunate and deliberate tendency to participate in the dominant patriarchal ideology by exerting its own forms of oppression on women.

THE POPULAR MUSIC INDUSTRY: A PATRIARCHAL INSTITUTION

"One more time, girls," Bateman commanded.
Diana counted off four and they began again. She sang in high-pitched tones while her partners provided sincere oohs and aahs. After they finished, Berry introduced himself to them.
"You sing through your nose?" he asked Diana.
"Well, I dunno..." Diana said, nervously. "If you want me to, I guess I can." (Taraborrelli, 1989:25)

Diana Ross and the Supremes experienced the discrimination and disregard of the music industry first hand, and they were not alone. As the musical mayhem 'rock & roll' grew, so too did the experience of many other female artists and bands. The industry began emulating the dominant patriarchal ideology when it took off in the 50s, and continued from there.

The phrase 'music industry' itself deserves specific definition. Like many other capitalist endeavours, this industry has a seemingly insatiable thirst for profit.

Taken as a whole this is a network of record companies, studios, agencies, the mass media - radio, television, film and press - local promoters, publishing houses, chains of record shops and specialist shops, a network which is difficult to disentangle. (Wicke, 1987:118)

Although this appears to be a fragmented industry with multiple contributors, it too, has another characteristic which matches so many other capitalist ventures in society. There is concentrated ownership.

... at the centre of this network there are no more than five international media organisations - CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), RCA (Radio Corporation of America) and Warner Communications based in the USA, Thorn-EMI (Electrical & Musical Industries) in Britain and PolyGram, a joint Dutch-West German firm. Together these five companies control around 70 per cent of the turnover of the capitalist world market in records and cassettes, estimated in 1977 at eight to nine billion dollars. (Wicke, 1987:118)

The industry's profit is obviously generated from the masses. The Golden Oldies segment profits from a variety of sources: the baby boomers who enjoy reclaiming their youth by indulging in this music; the younger generations who are also a primary target because they make up the future purchasing power; the film industry which often purchases the rights to older hits for newer films; and of course the advertising industry and television in general, both of which use the

hits of yesteryear to appeal to the audiences of all ages. The bottom line of this industry is no different than any other; it is profit, and when the chance to profit from ready-made material arose, the industry grabbed it. These facts provide support for the appropriateness of the socialist feminist term 'capitalist patriarchy,' since the capitalist desire of the business is evident. The latter half, 'patriarchy,' will now be discussed.

While the popular music industry was enjoying its massive expansion into all of the sectors of society, it was fervently exploiting its female performers. These (mostly young) women had little or no control over the music they sang, the images they portrayed, or the profits they generated.

Esther Edwards, Berry Gordy's sister, booked most of the engagements herself. The Supremes were paid \$290 a week. All but \$10 a week for each girl was sent back to Detroit. The Supremes thought they would get the balance of their money when they returned home, but they learned that the funds were deposited into a Motown bank account to pay for what Gordy saw as the company's expenses on their behalf. (Taraborrelli, 1989:74-75)

The Supremes, a phenomenally popular 'girl group' during the Golden Oldie era, were not in control of their own careers. They were constantly told by their manager, the famous Berry Gordy, what to sing, how to sing it, and what image to project. Although the group's rise to stardom took a number of years, even when they reached the ultimate plateau of 'rock & roll' fame, they were never permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labour.

In the beginning of their careers, prior to 1965, The Supremes were each making one percent of 90 percent of the suggested retail price of each 45 RPM and album sold, less all taxes and packaging costs - that is .00675, not even 3/4 of a cent per record. After 1965, each girl made eight percent of 90 percent of the wholesale price, less taxes and costs, or .0091 - nearly a penny for each record. Motown practiced cross-collateralization, which meant that any profit the girls made from a successful record had to pay the costs of the

preceding failures and any other outstanding expenses before they saw a dime. Also, the girls had to pay for the expenses of their recording sessions: musicians, lead sheets and other arrangements, studio time, etc. In putting these figures to work, it's easy to see why the Supremes never became rich. (1989:115)

Not only did The Supremes not have access to their own money, but they did not have any say regarding who they were, what they performed, or what they were called. Originally, they called themselves The 'Primettes,' but Gordy forced the girls to change their name, because, he [ambiguously] reasoned, "By the time I finish with you, **everyone** will know who you are." (1989:32) He then ordered another worker to come up with a new list of names from which Diana Ross, Mary Wilson, and Florence Ballard had the 'freedom' to choose one.

The songs sung by The Supremes were often written by Gordy's staff writers, Freddie Gorman and Brian Holland, and were produced by men such as Smokey Robinson as well as Berry Gordy (both of whom also wrote many of the group's songs). Gordy, who was himself quite successful in the industry, starting his own record company in 1959, was not shy about voicing his personal opinion about the women in the business.

"People like female singers," he said simply. "They can relate to women better than guys 'cause women are more vulnerable."
(1989:62-63)

The Golden Oldie 'girl group' The Shirelles is another case in point. This was yet another group which did not have control over its image, songs, or finances. The group enjoyed its popularity at very young ages; that popularity peaking in early 1961 with the top single "Will You [Still] Love Me Tomorrow." Other top 40 hits of this group included "Soldier Boy," "Mama Said," "Dedicated to the One I Love" and "Baby It's You." The group's top 40 career ended in 1963

with the song "Foolish Little Girl." Although they had enjoyed tremendous success during these recording years, when the group's members turned twenty-one, they found that "the money they had earned, supposedly held in trust for them by Greenberg, [the manager] had been spent in the usual manner - for recording costs, promotion, touring, and so on." (Gaar, 1992:37) This case is even more disturbing since 'Greenberg' was actually Florence Greenberg, who owned her own record labels; first 'Tiara' and then 'Scepter.' (1992:35-37) The Shirelles were legally bound to remain with this record label, and continued to record until 1968.

Phil Spector was another well-known name behind the female performers of the Golden Oldie era. Spector has been repeatedly heralded in the rock history books as the creator of the glorious "wall of sound,"¹⁸ (1992:44) but perhaps it was his misogynist tendencies that were legion. His first bout with success was with his number 1 song "To Know Him is to Love Him," which he wrote and produced for his own group called the Teddy Bears in 1958. He then made an important acquaintance with Lester Sill, a prominent music industry figure, who was "later Spector's partner in his record company Philles Records." The first 'girl group' Spector (temporarily) took a shine to was the Crystals, who were his ticket into the growing "girl group boom." (1992:44) This group, however, was soon seen as a problem by Spector.

The Crystals first discovered his chauvinistic and blatant misogynist side

¹⁸ This phrase, "wall of sound," refers to Spector's preference for having "several guitarists playing in unison together, and the same for each instrument involved in a track" rather than the more common practice of "overdubbing a single guitarist as many times as required." Although the result was unique, it was also called "expensive and self-indulgent" by other producers because the task called for a number of musicians instead of only one. (Heslam, 1992:58)

when, over their protests, he forced them to record a terrible song written by the husband and wife songwriting team Carole King and Gerry Goffin. The song, "He Hit Me (And It Felt Like a Kiss)," grotesquely promoted violence against women, and it was the groups' protests over this song which characterized the members as 'troublesome' in Spector's eyes. This example also further evidenced how the industry did not see its female performers as people, but only pawns for profit.

Goffin later claimed that he and King were "inspired" by Little Eva's explanation that the black eye her boyfriend gave her was proof that "he really loves me," though he did admit the song's blatant masochism was "a little radical for those times." Lester Sill was more critical in his assessment, calling the tune a "terrible fucking song." Nor were the Crystals happy with the number. "We didn't like that one," Alston told writer Alan Betrock. "We absolutely hated it. Still do." (1992:45)

Besides being forced to sing material which they strongly disapproved of, the Crystals also had problems with Spector over money and their title. As did many other groups during this era, the Crystals found themselves short-changed on many occasions, and since Spector's contract with the group "gave him ownership of their name" (1992:45) material was released under the guise of the Crystals, when in fact it was actually sung by a group of Los Angeles backup singers called the Blossoms. Spector recorded Gene Pitney's "He's A Rebel" as a Crystals song in Los Angeles *without* the Crystals, since the original group was proving to be so disagreeable and "troublesome." The song went straight to number one in the Fall of 1962, much to the surprise of the real Crystals, who were on tour in Ohio when they 'discovered' that they had recorded the country's number one song. In light of the "women as voiceless" category, this is the ultimate example of the misappropriation or stifling of women's voices, since this group in fact could not even control their own voices under their own name. "He's

Sure The Boy I Love" was another "Crystals" song which hit number 11 on the charts, when in fact it was also recorded by the Blossoms. The first Crystals records to reach the Top 10 were "Da Doo Ron Ron" and "Then He Kissed Me;" songs which were actually recorded by the original members. (1992:45) Finally, the Crystals decided to take action.

By the end of 1963, Spector was involved with a new group, the Ronettes, and the Crystals were no longer of any interest to him. In an effort to try and salvage something from their career, the Crystals actually sued Spector for unpaid royalties, a move rarely undertaken by any girl group. The Crystals lost their suit, but they did manage to secure the rights to their name again, enabling them to continue performing. (1992:45-46)

The Ronettes, the next girl group to bear the brunt of Spector's whims, experienced slightly different problems from those of the aforementioned groups. The Ronettes, a group composed of two sisters, Veronica (Ronnie) and Estelle Bennett and their cousin Nedra Talley, began building their musical career with live performances at neighbourhood bar mitzvahs and sock hops. In 1963 they eventually were given the chance to audition with Spector, who when he saw Ronnie, was instantly 'interested' in her. The group's problems escalated from that point.

Spector was immediately taken with Ronnie and tried to sign her as a solo act, but when the Bennetts' mother refused to let him break up the group, Spector signed all three Ronettes. Nonetheless, he set about dividing the group internally anyway, singling out Ronnie for preferential treatment from the start. (1992:47)

Spector eventually achieved his initial goal in 1966 of helping disband the group by becoming increasingly possessive of Ronnie. Many were aware of the affair they were having, (even though Spector was already married) and when Spector divorced his first wife to marry Ronnie, she quickly understood that his

'possessiveness' was more serious than a mere infatuation. Ronnie became a "virtual prisoner" in their Los Angeles mansion, often being "demoralized" by him with "psychological torture." She escaped from Spector in 1972 with a drinking problem which she would have for another decade (1992:47-48) Had the group not fallen prey to Spector, perhaps they could have enjoyed a long and prosperous career.

Regardless of his indecent character, Spector's presence within the industry was extremely pervasive; he was quite influential. Other than those listed above, Spector also produced The Righteous Brothers and Ike & Tina Turner. He also worked on projects with George Harrison and John Lennon, Dion, Leonard Cohen, and The Ramones. (Heslam, 1992:59)

The above individual cases demonstrate how the female performers of the Golden Oldie era were nothing short of victims of a patriarchal industry. The female performers were controlled in every sense of the word, forcing them to sing certain songs, manipulating their finances, or simply by orchestrating their image with particular clothing, make-up or dance moves. The purpose of these performers was simply to provide mass appeal for the product which was being advertised; that product being the music. The music industry was and still is a means through which the few profit from the many. The business was to generate money, and the songs to be sold became the commodities along with the popular performers.

Male-domination is still a characteristic the popular music industry has today. There is a significantly higher percentage of male producers, managers and songwriters behind the scenes. The music which is created within this patriarchal

environment is hence reflective of this tradition.

The dimensions of male domination are overwhelming. Most popular musicians, and even more writers, creators, technicians, engineers and producers are men. The roles of women in creative roles are limited and "mediated through male notions of female ability." Among the women musicians who "make it" nearly all are singers. Usually it is areas of publicity in which women in the business are found, pushing a largely male-defined product. The female image is made by males. Indeed, **in general**, the "images, values, and sentiments" of popular music are male products. (Pratt, 1990:32)

When it comes to positions of great significance, women's participation in the industry has always been minor. Women musicians who became popular were used to serve the profit needs of the companies they represented, and although they were indeed 'employees,' they were all too often left out of the decision-making process. They represented images which generated volumes of sales rather than people who were performing what they wanted to perform.

Capitalism benefits from this industry. Those who are to gain the most from capitalism are those in power, a club with largely male membership. Since women continue to be the victims of discriminatory practices, they do not have the same opportunities to reap the successes of such an industry, because they are ordinarily only permitted to hold positions of commercial value. The 'girl groups' prevalent in the Golden Oldie era set a precedent for years to come.

The importance of the girl group image and its effect on the female rock audience has traditionally been overlooked by rock historians who tend to regard girl groups as interchangeable, easily manipulated puppets, while the ones with the "real" talent were the managers, songwriters, publishers, and producers who worked behind the groups. (Gaar, 1992:34)

It is significant that this older era of music has great prominence in contemporary society. These songs of the 50s, 60s, and early 70s are currently hailed not only as 'Golden,' but as 'classics.' A number of contemporary radio

stations have devoted their playlists to this oldie format, which supports the idea that this music is still reaching a substantial proportion of the public on a regular basis. CKLW FM 93.9 in Windsor, Ontario;¹⁹ CHUM 1050 AM in Toronto (which incidently is the parent station of CKLW); WOMC FM 104.3 in Detroit, Michigan; WCSX FM 94.7 also in Detroit; CKWW 580 AM (big bands/oldies); CKSY 95.1 FM (easy listening); and WJOI 97.1 FM (easy listening) are just a few examples of stations which subscribe to the popular songs of yesteryear. By labelling these songs 'Golden' or 'classic,' the industry has attributed a certain status to them. Such titles imply that this music is timeless, when it is in fact quite dated.

The industry had in its grasp years of ready-made and pre-paid material. Although it was dated, this older music was profit just waiting to be accrued. All of the overhead had been paid for at 1950s, 1960s and 1970s prices, wages and royalties. It therefore is interesting to note that this music was kept around, not necessarily because the people demanded its return, but because of profit potential. Although there is a market for this material, and it is indeed popular, it is significant that the possibility of capitalizing from a previously established market was there.

¹⁹ It must be noted, however, that as of February 6, 1994, CKLW FM 93.9 changed its format. It currently excludes Motown music and music of the 50s, stating on air that the playlist has "no 'DooWop,'" and "no Bubblegum" music (the latter referring to songs by the group The Beach Boys, for example). The station still plays some 60s music, a great deal of 70s music, and has 'broadened its horizon' to include the "classics" of the 80s. It now calls itself the "Rock & Roll Oldie Station," but does not play the "harder" rock music found on the "Classic Rock" station WCSX FM 94.7.

THE INVENTION OF TRADITION

One wonders whether the "Golden Oldie" tradition has been invented, or perhaps re-invented, to accomplish the economic and patriarchal goals of the CP. "Tradition," in this sense, is being used to fulfil the needs of the dominant ideology.

In their text The Invention of Tradition, editors Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger discuss the process of inventing tradition in various times and places around the world; each invention having its own fundamental purpose. In Hobsbawm's introductory chapter, "Inventing Traditions," he discusses what it means to make deliberate choices about tradition.

The term 'invented tradition' is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period - a matter of a few years perhaps - and establishing themselves with great rapidity. (1983:1)

Because 'customs' dominate 'traditional' societies, Hobsbawm differentiates the two by establishing that "the object and characteristic of 'traditions', including invented ones, is invariance," while the 'custom' cannot afford to be so invariant because "what it does is to give any desire to change (or resistance to innovation) the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history." (1983:2) In other words, 'custom' represents an action while 'tradition' represents the singularities of that action.

'Custom' is what judges do; 'tradition' (in this instance invented tradition) is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action. The decline of 'custom' inevitably changes the 'tradition' with which it is habitually intertwined. (1983:2-3)

It stands to reason then, that if certain 'traditional' customs were to change in a

society, then inevitably, so too would the established tradition. If for example, women were to refute the customary practice of staying in the home by venturing out into the workforce, then that 'traditional' society would experience a reshuffling of its structure. The 'traditional' patriarchal society is brimming with pre-set customs for women. Any resistance to these customs results in the disruption of the established order. If then, 'traditional' patriarchal society was to be threatened by change, then steps must be taken to continue with the original make-up. In this sense, 'invented traditions' "are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition." (1983:2) Invented traditions prove to be useful in so far as they provide resistance to innovation.

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (1983:1)

By borrowing from this theory of the invention of tradition, one may be able to draw a parallel between it and the case in question, especially if one looks at the *types* which Hobsbawm outlines. He notes that since the period of the industrial revolution, invented traditions seem to belong to three overlapping types:

a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour. (1983:9)

In this case, not only do these songs attempt to legitimize the authority of the patriarchy, but in so doing, they also inculcate traditional value systems and the

desired appropriate behaviour. The cultural value implied by the revival of songs from 'the good ole days' points to the inherent desire to get them back; these songs are a force for the status quo and the Backlash. For patriarchal ideology, society was much less complicated during the decades of the 50s and 60s when everyone 'knew their predetermined places.' People in general did not question the norms, namely the placement of the woman in the home and the man in the workforce as the breadwinner, to the extent they do now. In this sense, 'tradition,' as it is understood here, cannot tolerate societal upheaval by way of innovative and untraditional forces such as feminism. If one wished to return to the days when women knew their place without question, then one way of prolonging or bringing this 'tradition' back is with something which was prominent and pervasive during that era. In this case, 'tradition' is being uprooted out of its place decades ago, and is being transplanted in contemporary society, in the form of popular music. It is an appealing route to take since so many people look upon the songs of yesteryear with fondness and a nostalgic sigh, all the while viewing them as harmless entertainment.

In his text, Hobsbawm exemplified the invention of tradition with such things as the changing nature of the public image during the last two hundred years of the British monarchy and the role of its English royal ceremonial; (Cannadine, 1983:102-103) and the colonial invention of tradition in Africa in the late 1800s when European settlers had to "define themselves as natural and undisputed masters of vast numbers of Africans," which lead them to draw upon "invented traditions both to define and justify their roles, and also to provide models of subservience into which it was sometimes possible to draw Africans."

(Ranger, 1983:211) In either case, the invention of tradition served the purposes of a particular group, and in this case, the re-invention of tradition is well serving the music industry which thereby serves the CP.

While this music meets a popular need, it also simultaneously fulfils a goal of the CP. Not only does it serve the profit motive extremely well, but it reminisces back to an era when times were simpler: a time of traditional values when women knew their place and for the most part did not question it. This "place" (which was reinforced by the lyrics) was one which was subservient to men, and not only did many women at home know this, but so did the female superstars of the music industry, who lived it. The industry, which has been proven to be inherently patriarchal, saw profit in these songs, and also an opportunity to look back with affection. For the patriarchal males involved, these were much simpler and better times. When Dick Clark intones on his internationally-syndicated oldie programs that "everything is just the way it was," this may be more than wishful thinking.

CHAPTER THREE

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the songs of the Golden Oldie era by applying a semiotic analysis to the texts in question; namely, the lyrics themselves. As outlined in chapter one, there are six categories the sexist lyrics fall under. In addition, there is also a category labelled "Super" Songs, which includes examples of those songs which cut across all of the categories. A total of 125 Golden Oldie songs were analyzed for this thesis, and a categorized list of those songs is included at the end of this paper, in Appendix A. 98% of the songs analyzed were collected from one particular FM radio station: CKLW FM. As mentioned previously, CKLW 93.9 FM in Windsor Ontario was an exclusive 'Golden Oldie' station until February 6, 1994, and this sample of songs was compiled from this station in the summer months of 1993. Three radio station countdowns were also used here as reference guides: CKLW FM's 1992 summer "Freedom 500 Countdown" (please refer to Appendix C), CKLW FM's 1993 summer "The Top 500 of All-Time" countdown (please refer to Appendix D), and Detroit's WOMC FM's January 1994 "Top 104 Countdown" (please refer to Appendix E).

The sample of songs from CKLW FM (98% of the sample) was gathered by listening to this station on a daily basis, since the radio station would not release their official playlist, upon request. This station only played 'hit' Golden Oldies, which includes only those songs which were charted in Billboard's "Top 40" listings at some point; or most preferably within its "Top 10" lists. During an interview with the station's music librarian, she noted that CKLW FM would air a 'hit' song an average of 150 times each week. Because of this pattern, this particular sample of songs (the 98%) is that which was encountered most

frequently during the research process. The research continued until the songs repeated, with no new material in evidence.

To reiterate, the assumption here is that the largest proportion of songs from this era will fall into one of the theoretically-based categories, demonstrating that this musical era was, and remains, sexist. It must be noted that these categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive; it is arguable that some of the songs may overlap. This 'overlapping' will be demonstrated in this chapter under the aforementioned heading "Super" Songs, where emphasis will be placed on those songs which, because of the sexist nature of their lyrics, actually fall under all six categories.

As will be demonstrated via semiology, most of these songs emulate patriarchal ideologies by prescribing desired behaviour and attitudes for women. Because this was an abductive process, the theory framing the research informed the analysis, and was also reflected in the lyrics analyzed. The research moved back and forth from the literature to the music in order to keep the study grounded in the feminist theory. The songs of the Golden Oldie era provide a vehicle for ideological dissemination. These songs make a point of setting a standard against which men can compare women, and with which women can compare themselves.

CATEGORY 1: WOMAN AS COMMODITY/POSSESSION

In direct relation to Marx's 'commodity fetishism,' (as previously mentioned) the concerns over the ownership of private property led to viewing human beings

as material goods, especially within the institution of marriage. Although the sexual division of labour had no unique relevance for Marx, he nevertheless recognized that because women were ranked as mere instruments of reproduction within marriage, "woman becomes a piece of communal and common property..." (Eisenstein, 1979:10) The practice of husbands 'having,' and 'dominating' forced woman into the subordinate position of the possession. Her 'species being' was therefore unattainable, as her commodity characteristic would not allow it. In this sense, woman falls prey to the whims of the man in her life, and is at his complete disposal.

These songs depict women who are at the mercy of male wants and needs, and a total of 23 analyzed songs fell into this category (please refer to Appendix A).²⁰ As a consequence of being perceived as attainable 'property,' these lyrical women are usable, and ultimately disposable. Their commodity persona dictates that they have the sole purpose of complying with the expectations of others. These 'expectations' include those which are sexual as well as those which are proprietary. Women are simply goods, who, according to the following songs, are borrowed and are exchangeable as well as being usable. An example of this is in the 1961 song by Bobby Vee, "Take Good Care of My Baby," in which we see that a woman can be a commodity in the sense that she can be borrowed, used, and returned. If one were to replace "my baby" with "my car" in these lyrics, the song would still make sense.

²⁰ The songs which are particularly significant for each category (i.e. the best, or 'worst,' examples) will be those which are examined most extensively. Each and every song in each category was analyzed semiotically for the initial make-up of the categories, but in order to avoid unnecessary length and redundancy, specific songs will receive the most attention.

My tears are falling
 cause you've taken her away
 and though it really hurts me so
 there's something that I've got to say

Take good care of my baby (CHORUS)
 please don't ever make her blue
 just tell her that you love her
 make sure you're thinking of her
 in everything you say and do

Take good care of my baby
 now don't you ever make her cry
 just let your love surround her
 paint a rainbow all around her
 don't let her see a cloudy sky

Once upon a time that little girl was mine
 If I'd been true, I know she'd never be with you, so... (CHORUS)

Be just as kind as you can be
 and if you should discover
 that you don't really love her
 just send my baby back home to me

This idea of woman as commodity is not entirely surprising, since reification was frequently demonstrated during this era, (i.e. woman as car/car as woman). Many songs gave cars female traits such as "Little Deuce Coup" and "409" (both by The Beach Boys) which ultimately commodified women by making their characteristics interchangeable with the cars. In this case, Vee's hit is an excellent example of commodity fetishism and reification. His dismay over the fact that another man "took" his "baby" demonstrates his belief that this woman is indeed his possession. Vee pleads to this other man to "take good care" of her while she is under new ownership, on the off-chance that she would be returned to Vee if the new customer is not completely satisfied (if he discovers that he doesn't "really love her"). This woman was "taken away" and may be "returned," while her own wishes are irrelevant. This woman is a commodity, which makes

it impossible for her to have any independent identity. She is being 'borrowed' until the new owner grows tired of her, thus the request that she be taken care of; Vee does not want damaged goods upon her possible return.

Claiming ownership would obviously be much easier if the possession were an inanimate object. For the 4 seasons in 1964, the inanimate object was a "Rag Doll;" a woman with a "pretty face till she dressed in rags." Thereafter, she was only referred to as a 'rag doll;' an easily acquired object. The possessed woman could be acquired, but sometimes the lyrical male was forced to be choosy about the woman he picked, as suggested by The Miracles in 1961 with "Shop Around" ("...get yourself a bargain hon, don't be sold on the very first one, pretty girls are a dime a dozen...my mama told me, you'd better shop around..."). The Association in 1966 and Gene McDaniels in 1961, on the other hand, came up with more interesting ways of commodity ownership. When the Association released their hit "Cherish," the lead singer expressed his longing for the woman in the song by wishing that he had told her how he felt; wishing that he could hold her; and most importantly, in his own words: "I wished that I could **mould you** into someone who could cherish me as much as I cherish you..." [emphasis added]. The most desirable women were created from scratch, as demonstrated here by Gene McDaniels:

He took a hundred pounds of clay
and then he said "Hey! Listen!
I'm gonna fix this world today
because I know what's missin'!"

Then he rolled his big sleeves up
and a brand new world began
he created a woman
and a lot of lovin' for a man...
With just a hundred pounds of clay...

Gene McDaniels' song, "A Hundred Pounds of Clay" demonstrates this need to have a woman at a man's disposal. According to McDaniels, the world would be a better place if a woman's creation was done solely according to man's specifications. The ideal woman here has no goal but to serve the man who possesses her. If she were to be created with the single 'Stepford Wife' purpose of pleasing her man, then there would never be any threat that she would want anything more out of life. Patriarchy longs for the woman whose needs extend no further than the man who owns her. It is interesting to note, however, that no mention is made of making it an even match by creating a man who reflects a woman's personal needs.

The woman who is possessed will not stray. She will remain devoted to her owner, be that owner her husband, lover or boyfriend, and she will be content in this knowledge. The woman who is reduced to being a mere commodity will never forget for whom she has been put on this earth, as demonstrated below by the Duprees' song "You Belong To Me." Regardless of where the possessed woman goes or what she does, she is to remember her status as the man's commodity:

See the pyramids along the Nile
 watch the sun rise on a tropic isle
 just remember darling all the while
 you belong to me

See the marketplace in old Algiers
 send me photographs and souvenirs
 but remember when a dream appears
 you belong to me

I'll be so alone without you
 maybe you'll be lonesome too

Fly the ocean in a silver plane
 watch the jungle when it's wet with rain
 just remember till you're home again

you belong to me

This 1962 song by the Duprees was a re-make of a much older song. The 're-make' phenomenon is significant for songs such as this because of their 'traditional' qualities. Obviously merit is seen in reiterating the messages of songs with dated societal norms. In this particular case, the Duprees' lead singer is making a point of reminding his wife/girlfriend that although she will be temporarily separated from him, she is to remember her status as a possession. This knowledge that she is owned is to follow her everywhere during her travels. Regardless of where she goes, the fact that she is a possession is to continually remain uppermost in her mind. Although this man has been 'gracious' enough to permit her a brief leave, the conditions with which she must comply are mandatory. In this sense, she has not been granted permission to leave at all, and underlying it all is the need for her to remember to be faithful, which is presumably what is meant by "remember... you belong to me."

In the 1965 hit "My Girl," The Temptations' lead singer boasted that he had sunshine on a cloudy day; when it was cold outside, he had the month of May; he had so much honey that the bees envied him... and so on. His reason for such bliss was, in his words, "my girl." The title says it all. Apparently this woman has in some way (be it through verbal adoration or simple silence) agreed with this possessive arrangement. On the other hand, as demonstrated here by Brenton Wood in his 1967 hit "Gimmie Little Sign," the man who is actually left 'guessing' whether or not he is the rightful owner is forced to demand the following:

If you do want me
gimmie little sugar
if you don't want me
don't lead me on girl

But if you need me
 show me that you love me
 and when I'm feelin' blue
and I want to
 there's just one thing that you should do

Just gimme some kind of sign girl
 to show me that you're **mine girl**
 Just gimme some kind of sign girl
 to show me that you're **mine girl...**

This Billboard hit demands that the woman give the man a 'sign' so that he may claim ownership of her. By his request of a "little sugar," this "sign" to which he refers is most likely of a sexual nature ("and I want to..."). By giving Wood this 'sign' which he so desperately needs, this woman will guarantee that she will be at his side and once there, will be ready to please him (hence, "when I'm feelin' blue and I want to..."). Wood seems to be sure of his entitlement to her, but unsure of her willingness. Since he is obviously unsure of her 'agreement,' it is only natural that he command from her a word or action to affirm his dominion over her.

As if in direct response to songs such as the one above, "Baby I'm Yours" released by Barbara Lewis in 1965 overtly offers the man complete ownership. In this instance, she complies with tradition and willingly succumbs to the idea of being possessed by the man she adores:

... yours until the mountain crumbles to the sea
 in other words, until eternity
 baby I'm yours
 till the stars fall from the sky
 baby I'm yours
 till the rivers all run dry
 baby I'm yours
 till the poets run out of rhyme
 baby I'm yours...

No mention is made of the man's willingness to give himself up to her. She

repeatedly offers herself to him, receiving no response. Her desperate submission and need to be owned by him is only surpassed by the length of time she is willing to passively remain in that position, regardless of his own commitment to her. This rather pathetic display of capitulation exemplifies what was then (by some), expected of a woman. Complete and eternal surrender to a man is a prevalent theme throughout the songs of this category. However, this message seems to dig a little deeper when it is a woman who is helping set the standard for women's behaviour. Songs such as this are highly significant because during times of feminist backlash they can contribute to the weakening of the cause. When anti-feminists do find a woman who openly subscribes to patriarchal ideologies, they do not hesitate to 'employ' her opinions. Sylvia Ann Hewlett, a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and other think tanks in the U.S.A. is another perfect example. As described by Faludi in Backlash, Hewlett is a useful agent for the backlash, since she has contributed to the anti-feminist cause by among other things, authoring the book A Lesser Life: The Myth of Women's Liberation in America. Based on encounters with the "average woman," Hewlett concluded that "feminism has gypped her sex." (Faludi, 1991:314) Her conclusion was based on the suggestion that feminism has not actually fought in the best interests of women:

"The American [women's] movement has defined the problem of womenkind as that of acquiring a full set of legal, political, and economic rights, and achieving control over one's body." But most American women, she asserts, don't want equality, personal or sexual freedom; they "want to strengthen, not weaken the traditional family structure." By concentrating on equality instead of maternity, feminists made "one gigantic mistake." (Faludi, 1991:314)

Not surprising, Hewlett and her book received hordes of backlash mass

media attention, including a bidding war between eleven drooling publishing companies over her original proposal, and a six-figure advance. (Faludi, 1991:314) Women in the public eye who have the power to contribute to the backlash are immediately scooped up by all of the more patriarchal media channels. Songs such as "Baby I'm Yours" inflict the same damage. Because these songs are performed by women, the message is inherently and unfortunately a powerful one, in each of these categories.

In Elvis Presley's 1962 song "Good Luck Charm," Presley wanted his woman to not only become his possession, but she was also to serve a purpose. By simply remaining by Presley, she was to bring him luck. He stated in his song that he didn't want a four-leaf clover or an old horseshoe, but instead:

I want your kiss cause I just can't miss
with a good luck charm like you
come on and be my little good luck charm
you sweet delight
I want a good luck charm hanging on my arm
to have, to hold, tonight...

Presley's possession had a purpose: to be possessed; to show him affection and to bring him good fortune. Evidently, he preferred having a woman hanging on his arm rather than a rabbit's foot or an old horseshoe. Serving her man with whatever it was that he needed was presumed and required in order to maintain the relationship. Too often during this era however, the woman's purpose as a possession was to specifically serve the man with sex. Songs such as "Cherry Hill Park" by Billy Joe Royal (1969), (the use of the word "cherry" having a sexual connotation in itself) were distressing common during this era:

Mary Hill used to hang out
in Cherry Hill Park
the games she played lasted all day

till way after dark

All the girls, they criticized her
but all the guys just idolized her
cause Mary Hill was such a thrill after dark
in Cherry Hill Park

Mary Hill loved to ride all the merry-go-rounds
all the guys got eager eyes watching Mary go round
in the daytime she was such a teaser
come the night she was such a pleaser

...Oh, Mary Hill sure was fun down in Cherry Hill Park
playing games with everyone till way after dark...

Such songs degraded woman by treating her as a commodity with a specific sexual function. Whether or not the woman was ever a willing participant was often overlooked by the singers, as demonstrated here by Gary Puckett & The Union Gap's song "Lady Willpower:"

Lady willpower, it's now or never
to give your love to me and
I'll shower your heart with tenderness endlessly

I know you want to see me
but you're afraid
of what I might have on my mind
one thing you can be sure of
I'll take good care of your love
if you will let me give you mine

Did no one ever tell you
the facts of life?
well, there's so much you have to learn
and I would gladly teach you
if I could only reach you
and get your lovin' in return

"Lady Willpower" was released in 1968 and followed this group's consistent theme of sex with young, often unwilling girls. Puckett has obviously nicknamed this woman 'Lady Willpower' because of her sexual hesitation. It is apparent that she does not wish to engage in sexual activity with him, but he nevertheless is

persistent. Consistent with the requirements of this category, Puckett perceives this woman to be at his sexual disposal. If he did not see her as a possession, he would not expect such a thing from such an unwilling party. He wants to educate her according to his wants and desires, and chooses to overlook her fear long enough to use her for his own personal pleasure.

The coaxing of a disinterested woman into having sexual relations was also the theme of Rod Stewart's 1976 hit "Tonight's The Night." This song paints a vivid and unpleasant picture of a man's expectations:

... kick off your shoes
and sit right down
loosen up that
pretty French gown
Let me pour you
a good long drink
ooo- baby,
don't you hesitate

Cause tonight's the night (CHORUS)
it's gonna be alright
cause I love you girl
ain't nobody gonna stop us now

Come on angel
my heart's on fire
don't deny
your man's desire
you'd be a fool
to stop this time
spread your wings
and let me come inside

Don't say a word
my virgin child
just let your
inhibitions run wild
the secret is about
to unfold upstairs
before the night's too old.....

Rod Stewart sings sweetly about the pleasure of having a "child" lose her virginity

to him. The fact that he needs to pour her "a good long drink" to relax her, shows her fear and hesitation. Throughout the song Stewart consistently reassures her that "it's gonna be alright" and proceeds to invite her to undress and "spread [her] wings." This "virgin child" is Stewart's possession insofar as sex is concerned. Her reluctance does not bother Stewart, if anything, it strengthens his 'determination.' This girl's innocence is Stewart's aphrodisiac. His forceful seduction includes silencing her ("don't say a word"), promises ("I love you girl") and a mild warning ("you'd be a fool to stop this time"). Obviously this scenario is not new to the couple. "Ain't nobody gonna stop us now" is what cinches the deal. The sequence of events and Stewart's intense sweet-talk suggest that this is indeed a date rape. There is no question that Stewart believes this "child" is his possession, since he fully expects her to be at his complete sexual disposal.

Elvis Presley makes another contribution to this category with his 1960 song "It's Now Or Never" which seems to follow in the footsteps of the two previous examples. Sex is taken for granted, and it is to be performed at the whim of the man.

It's now or never
 come hold me tight
 kiss me my darling
 be mine tonight
 tomorrow will be too late
 it's now or never
 my love won't wait

When I first saw you
 with your smile so tender
 my heart was captured
 my soul surrendered
 I've spent a lifetime
 waiting for the right time
 now that you're near
 the time is here at last...

Reiterating the aforementioned theme of impatient sexual desire, Presley actually threatens this woman that if she does not comply with his demands, the relationship will end (hence, "it's now or never"). Presley is obviously smitten with this woman, and expects her to return the compliment with sex. Her own needs are of no consequence to him, as he clearly states "my love won't wait." The possessed woman is not consulted. Her personal wants and desires are insignificant. Had Presley regarded her as an autonomous adult, he would not have demanded sex exclusively on his own terms.

There are a vast number of songs from the Golden Oldie era which treat the lyrical woman as a mere sex object. The Doors in 1967 coaxed the woman with "c'mon baby, light my fire" from the smash hit "Light My Fire;" and Wilbert Harrison in 1959 expressed his need to go to "Kansas City" because "they got some crazy little women there and I'm gonna get me one." Women were often viewed as objects with a function. Frequently a woman's worth was based solely on her ability to be at the man's disposal. Her identity, if any, revolved around what it was she could do for 'her man,' as evidenced here by Tommy Jones & The Shondelles:

I , baby does the hanky panky (repeat 10X)
 I saw her walkin' on down the line
 you know I saw her for the very first time
 a pretty little girl standin' all alone
 hey pretty baby, can I take you home...

This commodity has no other identity, no purpose other than the fact that she "does the hanky panky." This is a valued characteristic or the first line of the song "Hanky Panky" (released in 1966) would not have repeated incessantly throughout.

In "Lay Lady Lay" (1969), Bob Dylan asked his "lady" to "lay" across his "big

brass bed." He repeats this request throughout the song, with the single assurance that although his clothes are dirty, "his hands are clean." He obviously knows what is important. "Lay lady lay," he sings, "lay across my big brass bed... stay lady stay, stay with your man awhile." His simplistic intent surfaces when he sings "stay while the night is still ahead." Again, sex is expected and the woman is to remain steadfast in her role as the commodity.

The last three songs to be examined in this category sum up woman's role as the possession, and especially as the sex object. The first song, "Baby Don't Get Hooked On Me," neatly summarizes how the lyrical woman was regarded during this era. The song was released in 1972, and was performed by Mac Davis.

Girl you're standin' there
with that look in your eyes
and it's starting to worry me
I ain't ready for no family ties
nobody's gonna hurry me

Just keep it friendly girl
cause I don't want to leave
don't start clinging to me girl
cause I can't breathe

Baby, baby don't get hooked on me
baby, baby don't get hooked on me
cause I'll just use you
then I'll set you free...

Mac Davis obviously has every intention of using this woman for sex, and no intention of committing himself to her because of it. He states that he wants her to "keep it friendly" but that if she expects anything more of him, he will simply end the relationship. His absurd honesty speaks for itself in this case. The text requires little analysis to determine its inherent meaning. Mac Davis not only views this woman as a commodity, but he actually boasts of his insipid plan to use

her. This song presents the ultimate example of woman as a commodity/possession. She is a usable and a disposable item.

The next song, "Brown Sugar," by The Rolling Stones (1971) not only views the lyrical woman as a sex object, but Mick Jagger goes a step further to characterize her commodity status in a racist manner:

Brown sugar
how come you taste so good?
brown sugar
just like a young girl should

...Brown sugar
how come you taste so good?
brown sugar
just like a Black girl should...

Jagger states that this young woman 'tastes good' which obviously implies sexual activity, and then states that her sweet "taste" is to be expected ("...just like a young girl should..."). His reference to her as "brown sugar" because she is a "Black girl" degrades her further by comparing her to a non-white inanimate object. This young woman's purpose is to be a sexual object, since Jagger maintains that this is in fact how she "should" be. Not only does he treat this woman as an object which is at his sexual disposal, but he demonstrates his racist attitude in the meantime by flippantly referring to her as "brown sugar."

The last song, "Will You Love Me Tomorrow?" was released in 1961 by the Shirelles, and demonstrated the desires of the woman possessed; she is content only when being possessed.

... I'd like to know that your love
is love I can be sure of
So tell me now
and I won't ask again
will you still love me tomorrow?

Tonight with words unspoken
 you say that I'm the only one
 but will my heart be broken
 when the night meets the morning sun...

The Shirelles "became the first all-female group to top the singles charts with 'Will You Love Me Tomorrow.'" (Gaar, 1992:33) The Shirelles lead the way for singers to come with this hit "by popularizing the 'girl group' sound." But how unfortunate that they paved the way with such a pathetic plea. The fact that the lead singer finds asking this question necessary only emphasizes her role as the sexual object. She is fully aware of what will transpire during the course of the evening ("...tonight with words unspoken you say that I'm the only one..."), and in return for the act, she only wants to be assured that he will still "love" her the following day ("I'd like to know that your love is love I can be sure of"). The mere fact that she has to be assured in this way helps confirm that she is being used as an object for pleasure. "Love" is understood quite casually within the context of this song, since if the man in this song truly loved the woman, she would not have to ask this question in the first place. Again, the mere detail that this song was performed by women makes the situation all the more disastrous. The popularity of songs such as this served as a prescription for women to behave in a traditional manner, and its significance lies in the fact that the songwriters and managers of these girl groups were most often male. This resulted in male-constructed visions of women within the material. Though the girl groups "occasionally wrote their own material, it was their image that made the greatest impact with audiences, especially the female audiences that comprised most of the record-buying public at the time." (Gaar, 1992:34) The above examples evidence this fact and these songs still benefit patriarchal society today by the simple fact

that they are frequently aired on 'classic' radio stations.

By playing these songs, these media channels promote traditional female roles. The songs emulate patriarchal standards and the industry itself is male dominated. This in turn serves the patriarchy by communicating sexist messages with a catchy beat.

CATEGORY 2: WOMAN AS AN APPENDAGE OF MAN

As mentioned previously, this category will be broken into two subsections: physical characteristics and the value of eternal youth. A total of 20 songs fell into this category during the course of study (please refer to Appendix A). In these songs, the traits (beauty and youth) determine the worth of the lyrical woman more so than any other characteristic. The woman's identity is wrapped up in her overall attractiveness, while attributes such as intelligence and personality are disregarded as non-female qualities. Her role as an appendage of man is based on her beauty, and how she may effectively bolster the man's societal status by complementing his own appearance. She is worn like a form of apparel; and shown off when in the public eye. She is living testimony to him, his conquests, and his achievements.

The strong emphasis on her beauty in these songs contributes to the backlash by trying to preoccupy her with her own physical characteristics. By ceaselessly reiterating society's value of female beauty over any other representative quality, these songs serve the beauty industry itself in addition to the patriarchy.

The beauty industry, of course, has never been an advocate of feminist aspirations. This is not to say that its promoters have a conscious political program against women's rights, just a commercial mandate to improve on the bottom line. And the formula the industry has counted on for many years --aggravating women's low self-esteem and high anxiety about a "feminine" appearance --has always served them well. (American women, according to surveys by the Kinsey Institute, have more negative feelings about their bodies than women in any other culture studied.) (Faludi, 1991:202)

Sexist songs that are continuously piped through major media channels reach women, and communicate sexist themes. Songs which base a woman's worth entirely on her attractive appearance send a highly negative message. If a woman does not preoccupy herself with her physical appearance there is something wrong; according to multi media approaches, she is required to be preoccupied with what she looks like. Moreover, she is expected to continually be concerned with how she appears to others; especially men.

In times of backlash, the beauty industry converges with the social campaign against wayward women, allying itself with "traditional" morality; a porcelain and unblemished exterior becomes proof of a woman's internal purity, obedience, and restraint. The beautiful backlash woman is controlled in both senses of the word. Her physique has been domesticated, her appearance tamed and manicured as the grounds of a gentleman's estate. (Faludi, 1991:203-204)

Hence her role as an appendage of man. Her concern over her beauty must be in direct relation to the man's expectations. He will don her to become attractive himself. His self-esteem intensifies when the woman on his arm has a striking appearance. It says positive things about *him*.

"She's just my style" sang Gary Lewis & The Playboys in 1966; "everything about her drives me wild... she's fine... so fine..." Lewis sings to the listener, pondering whether or not he should talk to the woman who has caught his eye.

He reasons that she is the woman for him on the basis that she suits his "style."
 "Maybe it's the clothes she wears..." Lewis sings; "or the way she combs her hair...
 all that makes me want to tell her that I care..." The idea of wearing a physically
 attractive woman is prevalent. He plans to accessorize himself with her simply
 because he finds her compatible with his personal fashion. Another song which
 openly advises the practice of wearing physically attractive women is "Pretty Girls"
 by Melissa Manchester. Although this song was released in 1981, (which is
 supposed to exclude the song from the "Oldies" category) this song was indeed
 recorded from an exclusive oldies station:

He likes to stroke the curls
 of pretty baby girls
 and he will never make it
 on the hit parade (oh no)
 behind the counter
 just selling help and beauty aids
 in the name of
pretty girls
those pretty girls
look good on you.....

Once again keeping in mind the damaging effects of these lyrics because of their
 performance by a woman, this is an open invitation for men to actually 'wear'
 pretty girls, thus forcing the women to become mere appendages to compliment
 the male appearance. Manchester tells a story about a man who will never get
 anywhere in life so long as he remains in his current employed position (ironically
 selling beauty products to women). He sells the male perspective to women, ("just
 selling help...") and contributes to the backlash by 'helping' women focus their
 attention on their physical appearances. 'Woman as an appendage of man'
 emerges when Manchester actually compliments this lyrical male: "those pretty
 girls look good on you." According to Manchester, just selling these women beauty

aids is not enough. He must surpass his own societal position by wearing these attractive women as he would a complimentary suit. Although some may argue that Manchester's intention in this song is to be sarcastic; to poke fun at men who don women for personal purposes, her repetition of the chorus ad nauseam ("...pretty girls look good on you...") actually has the opposite effect.

According to Naomi Wolf, author of The Beauty Myth, the societal requirement of female physical beauty has a specific purpose. She points out that while the contemporary backlash seeks to "undo psychologically and covertly all the good things that feminism did for women materially and overtly," (1991:11) the beauty myth also makes its contribution to the undermining of feminist progress.

"Beauty" is a currency system like the gold standard. Like any economy, it is determined by politics, and in the modern age in the West it is the last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact. In assigning value to women in a vertical hierarchy according to a culturally imposed physical standard, it is an expression of power relations in which women must unnaturally compete for resources that men have appropriated for themselves. (Wolf, 1991:12)

The physical standards which women must emulate are nothing more than impositions of the patriarchy. Golden oldies such as "Venus In Blue Jeans" released in 1962 by Jimmy Clanton ("...she's Venus in blue jeans, Mona Lisa with a ponytail, she's a walkin' talkin' work of art..."); and "Calendar Girl" released in 1961 by Neil Sedaka ("...January, you start the year off fine, February, you're my little valentine...") comply with those impositions by fawning over the heavenly beautiful, picture-perfect woman. This musical era rarely, if ever, sang about other female attributes. As illustrated here by Roy Orbison, the woman who is "pretty" has it all:

Pretty woman

walking down the street
 pretty woman
 the kind I'd like to meet
 pretty woman
 I don't believe you,
 you're not the truth
 no one could look as good as you (mercy)

Pretty woman
 won't you pardon me
 pretty woman
 I couldn't help but see
 pretty woman
 and you look lovely as can be
 are you lonely just like me?

Pretty woman stop awhile
 pretty woman talk awhile
 pretty woman give your smile to me...

Orbison's smash hit "Oh, Pretty Woman" was originally released in 1964, but has managed to remain an immensely popular song. It was re-popularized in the Touchstone Pictures' blockbuster movie "Pretty Woman" (which helped introduce the song to younger audience members); was rated as the number 21 song in radio station 93.9 CKLW FM's 1992 Freedom 500 countdown; was placed in the number 14 position in their 1993 summer countdown "The Top 500 of All-Time;" and 104.3 WOMC FM in Michigan ranked the song number 4 in its 1993-94 "Top 104 Countdown." The song has been multi-generational in its popularity.

Unfortunately, the lyrics solely revolve around a woman's beauty. In the song, she has no name, no occupation, no identity save for her good looks. Orbison simply addresses her as a "pretty woman" forgoing the 'formality' of actually learning her name. This woman's only distinguishable feature is that she happens to be "pretty" in Orbison's eyes. Interestingly however, when he attempts to find something that he has in common with her, it has nothing to do with

appearances: "are you lonely just like me?" He refrains from reducing his own worth to physical appearances and instead asks her if she shares the emotional condition of loneliness. He is quick to determine her worth by appearance, but refuses to undermine his own personal qualities with something so superficial.

In 1973, the Canadian musical group Lighthouse released their song "Pretty Lady," which followed in Orbison's footsteps. The lead singer only refers to the lyrical woman as "pretty lady," and verbalizes his wish to make love to her. Again, this woman has no name nor identity; simply the characteristic of beauty, as defined by a male perspective.

But all I want to do
pretty lady
is see you smiling too
pretty lady
maybe once in my life
making love to you...

What is significant about being valued solely because of one's appearance is that other qualities of worth are consequently deemed valueless. Under the CP, and during times of backlash, it is desirable for women to be side-tracked as a means of undermining their progress. As Wolf pointed out in her text, the "qualities that a given period calls beautiful in women are merely symbols of the female behaviour that that period considers desirable: *The beauty myth is always actually prescribing behaviour and not appearance.*" (1991:13-14) Hence, by instilling in women the need to be beautiful in men's eyes, sexual subordination is accomplished. Identifying a woman solely by her appearance undermines all personal accomplishment, and attempts to train her to live her life according to the dictates of others; namely men. Beauty is one thing that patriarchal society still has the power to regulate and govern, and any alliance to the system is a

valuable one. Popular music is indeed a reliable vehicle for ideological dissemination.

The song "The Girl From Ipanema" by Stan Getz & Astrud Gilberto in 1964, was sung by a woman with an extremely soft voice. The emphasis on physical beauty in this oldie is overt, as this young woman's appearance actually takes people's breath away, but a deeper significance lies in the fact that it is sung by a woman with an almost whisper-quality voice:

Dark and tanned and young and lovely
the girl from Ipanema goes walking
and when she passes
each one she passes goes "ahhh"

When she walks it's like a Samba
that swings so cool and sways so gently
that when she passes
each one she passes goes "ahhh..."

The singer sings the lyrics as if the lyrical woman could hear her if she sang any louder. The singer seems to be admiring this woman from afar with the rest of the crowd. If Wolf's beauty myth were applied in this instance, the singer's own admiration is in itself detrimental, because "competition between women has been made part of the myth so that women will be divided from one another." (1991:14)

Wolf states:

At present, "beauty" is an economy in which women find the "value" of their faces and bodies impinging, in spite of themselves, on that of other women's. This constant comparison, in which one woman's worth fluctuates through the presence of another, divides and conquers. It forces women to be acutely critical of the "choices" other women make about how they look. (Wolf, 1991:284)

Although Wolf also states that it is possible for women to get past this divisiveness, the divide and conquer phenomenon is nonetheless sadly significant. The backlash will be all the more effective if it is possible to disband the women

who are striving for sexual equality. In this song, the singer's personal admiration for this woman and the public's reaction to her could together be interpreted as a form of jealousy. If in fact the singer does envy "the girl from Ipanema," then divide and conquer prevails. Once again, the female singing voice of a sexist song drives the message home a little more forcefully.

"Chantilly Lace had a pretty face" in the opinion of the Big Bopper in 1958 in addition to a "pony tail hangin' down." "A wiggle and a walk and a giggle and a talk" coupled with her attractiveness was all this singer needed to exclaim "oh baby, that's what I like!" In 1964 Manfred Mann saw a woman walking down the street who "looked good" and "looked fine" to the point where he nearly "lost [his] mind," in his smash hit "Do Wah Diddy." Similarly, when Van Morrison was reminiscing about his old girlfriend in his 1967 hit "Brown-Eyed Girl," he asked her to venture down memory lane with him, asking her if she recalled "playin' a new game... laughin' and a runnin'... skippin' and a jumpin'... in the misty mornin' fog with... our hearts a thumpin'..." which is then followed by his nicknaming this nameless woman his "brown-eyed girl." Although the relationship is apparently over, Morrison still maintains "you're my brown-eyed girl." Songs such as these focus on the women's physical characteristics to the exclusion of all other traits, thus reducing their actual worth. Davey Jones, lead singer of The Monkees also contributes to this idea that a woman is valuable by appearance alone in this hit "I'm A Believer:"

I thought love was only true in fairy tales
 meant for someone else but not for me
 love was out to get me
 that's the way it seemed
 disappointment, heartaches, all my dreams

Then I saw her face
 now I'm a believer
 without a trace of doubt in my mind
 I'm in love
 I'm a believer
 I couldn't leave her if I tried

The Monkees popularized this hit in 1966, and told a story of a man who was unsure of "love" until he "saw her face." Her physical appearance wiped out his personal insecurities and helped him commit to this one person. Whether or not this woman has an enthralling personality is not clear; her face, however, convinced Jones that she was indeed the one for him.

In 1965, the Beach Boys made a concerted effort to compliment all of the women residing in California by comparing their good looks to those of women around the continent. The unmistakable 'bubblegum' sound of the Beach Boys whines through their hit "California Girls" and again, pits woman against woman.

Well East Coast girls are hip
 I really dig those styles they wear
 and the southern girls with the way they talk
 they knock me out when I'm down there

The mid-west farmers' daughters
 really make you feel alright
 and the northern girls with the way they kiss
 they keep their boyfriends warm at night

I wish they all could be California girls (3X) (CHORUS)

The west coast has the sunshine
 and the girls all get so tan
 I dig the french-bikini on the wild island girls
 by a palm tree in the sand

I've been all around this great big world
 and I've seen all kind of girls
 Yea, but I couldn't wait to get back to the States
 back to the cutest girls in the world

The lead singer of The Beach Boys notes that all of these women are beautiful; he

only wishes that they were all more accessible to him by living in California. It is not surprising that the singers find American women 'better' ('cuter'), since the North American culture is so specific when it comes to standards of female attractiveness. The woman who is "cute" will compliment the man's appearance more so than the woman who has a southern accent.

As previously mentioned, the second subsection of this category is the value of female eternal youth. This value is especially useful under the CP not only because it predisposes women to spend a portion of their income on beauty aids to slow the aging process, but it also dictates yet another standard for beauty. The beautiful woman is young as well as physically stunning, and this provides another opportunity to divide and conquer women. The materialistic 'out with the old and in with the new' practice therefore also applies to women, since the older woman could possibly be discarded for a younger woman due to the value of female youth. (e.g. wealthy and renowned business tycoon Donald Trump, who replaced his older wife Ivana with the much younger woman, Marla Maples.) Ironically, this value of female youth is in direct contrast to men, who become 'more distinguished' with age. Aging men somehow escape social disapproval, while women are pitted against one another because of this natural process.

Aging in women is "unbeautiful" since women grow more powerful with time, and since the links between generations of women must always be newly broken: Older women fear young ones, young women fear old, and the beauty myth truncates for all the female life span. Most urgently, women's identity must be premised upon our "beauty" so that we will remain vulnerable to outside approval, carrying the vital sensitive organ of self-esteem exposed to the air. (Wolf, 1991:14)

All of the media channels have communicated to women the need to be, look, and remain young regardless of their age. Television commercials convince

women that the attractive woman is the one who "washes the grey out of her hair;" glossy magazine advertisements provide an array of photographs of flawless airbrushed beauties whose youth and vitality radiate through poreless and wrinkle-free skin; and popular music sings adamantly of the wonderful woman (often referred to as a "girl") who is irresistible because of her youthful qualities.

We are taught early: How we look is who we are. Youth and beauty are synonyms; we don't even have expressions for looking good without looking younger. When we look lousy, we say, "I feel like I look 110." The biggest gun is always age... Our shame leads us to pretend casualness, but we spend \$8 billion a year on the foundation-of-youth cosmetics market. (Melamed, 1983:71-72)

This in turn boosts capitalism. The beauty/youth industry thus has a dual purpose: to keep women unnecessarily concerned over their appearances so this preoccupation will make it difficult for them to compete with men on an equal footing since they are expected to spend time making themselves look 'acceptable' on a daily basis; and to bolster the processes of capitalism by contributing to the industry itself. The beauty/youth industry therefore serves the patriarchy as well as capitalism. The fact that the entire process contributes to the backlash against women is a patriarchal bonus. Men *are* allowed to age, and enjoy the position of being the "assigners of value" (Melamed, 1983:74) for women, acting as their mirrors; while women must continue their fight with nature along with their fight with the patriarchy.

Other than the song "Diana" performed by Paul Anka in 1957, which actually portrays a younger man who is smitten with an 'older woman,' ("...I'm so young and you're so old, this my darling I've been told, I don't care just what they say, cause forever I will pray you and I will be as free as the birds up in the trees, oh, please stay by me Diana...") these songs value female youth. The message of

songs such as the 1959 hit "Only Sixteen" by Sam Cooke, and the 1974 hit "You're 16" by Ringo Starr is clearly that the most attractive woman is in actuality not a woman at all. The beautiful, and hence irresistible, female is a "girl." The "girl" is comparatively innocent when it comes to life experiences, and if Wolf is correct, and women grow more powerful with age, then it's no wonder such value is placed on female "youth," as demonstrated here by Steve Lawrence in his song "Go Away Little Girl:"

Go away little girl (2X) (CHORUS)

I'm not supposed to be alone with you
I know that your lips are sweet
but our lips must never meet
I belong to someone else
and I must be true

It's hurting me more each minute
that you delay
when you are near me like this
you're much harder to resist
So, go away little girl
before I beg you to stay...

This 1963 song not only emphasizes that the young "girl" is irresistible, but in light of the divide and conquer rule, she is also a threat to the older woman. Lawrence is committed to another woman, but this girl's youthful qualities (e.g. her sweet lips) are compelling him to consider infidelity (and illegal behaviour). Unable to resist this "little girl," Lawrence is forced to ask her to "go away;" an uneasy task since her appealing youth is actually "hurting" him the longer she remains close by his side. The message here is that the younger woman is more enticing to a man than the older one, for the sole reason of age.

Bobby Vee's song "Come Back When You Grow Up [Girl]" (1967) (outlined below) sends a similar message. In it, Vee is obviously smitten by a "girl's" youth,

but he too, forces himself to ask her to go away for the time being. Interestingly, in this song as well as in the previous example, both men must ask the girl to physically remove herself from the situation so they *cannot* act on their impulses. Both men are unable or unwilling to leave themselves. It is up to the "girl" to take away the temptation.

I want you girl but your wide-eyed innocence
has really messed up my mind
I'd rather you get your very first heartbreak
somewhere else along the line

Come back, when you grow up girl
you're still livin' in a paper doll world
someday be a woman, ready to love
come back baby, when you grow up

This theme manages to reflect those sexual assault cases where it is actually the woman who is put on trial because of what she was wearing, how she looked, etc. The woman's appearance at the scene of the crime seems to somehow also represent her consent. It is the responsibility of these "girls" to curb the men's desire by leaving. Each man seems unable to show the proper amount of resistance; and each "girl" is guilty of being young (and therefore fetchingly provocative). Youth is a desperately irresistible quality in a female, as suggested here by Gary Puckett & The Union Gap in 1968:

Young girl get out of my mind
my love for you is way out of line
better run girl
you're much too young girl

... So hurry home to your mama
I'm sure she wonders where you are
get outta here before I have the time
to change my mind, cause I'm afraid we'll go too far

Although Puckett 'realizes' that "beneath [her] perfume and make-up, [she] just

a baby in disguise," he too, demands that the "girl" remove *herself* from the situation. Again, in this song titled "Young Girl," the girl's youthful character is enticing and irresistible. She'd "better run;" she'd better "get outta here before" Puckett changes his mind, or obviously he will no longer be able to contain himself. Besides being an overall threatening message, these songs emphasize the inherent beauty of female youth by the males being rendered emotionally and physically incapable of resisting. These songs reflect and promote the excuse used by rapists that women's appearance and their very presence constitute a form of consent, thereby inviting sexual assault.

Songs like Neil Diamond's "Girl You'll Be A Woman Soon" (1967) tell a different story. They allude to the 'blossoming' of a girl into a woman, like a caterpillar 'pupates' into a butterfly. The girl's youthful innocence is wildly exciting; the only thing perhaps surpassing that excitement is the idea of 'deflowering' her ("...don't let 'em make up your mind, don't you know girl, you'll be a woman soon, please come take my hand, girl you'll be a woman soon, soon, you'll need a man..." Neil Diamond, 1967). Another 'deflowering' story (again by Gary Puckett & The Union Gap), is the song "This Girl Is A Woman Now" (1969) which is an excellent example of the beauty and irresistible quality of female youth:

This girl walked in dreams
 playing in a world of her own
 this girl was a child
 existing in a playground of stone
 Then one night her world was changed
 her life and dreams were rearranged
 and she would never
 be the same again

This girl is a woman now

and she's learned how to give
 this girl is a woman now
 she's found out what it's all about
 and she's learning
 learning to live

This girl tasted love
 as tender as the gentle dawn
 she cried a single tear
 a teardrop that was sweet and warm

Our hearts told us we were right
 and on that sweet and velvet night
 a child had died
 a woman had been born...

This "girl" has obviously lost her virginity to Puckett, and this act alone has made her "a woman now." His sexual conquest was reciprocated by her "single tear" of surrender ("...she's learned how to give..."). This last example of songs which place value on youth is a very telling story. The male in this song arrogantly assumes that his taking advantage of this girl will be her arrival into womanhood, and proceeds with his ritual although this "girl" is evidently not ready ("...she cried a single tear"). Puckett boasts that he has finally taught this girl "how to live" simply because he taught her "how to give." This girl is Puckett's appendage insofar as she is another 'notch' on his bedpost; she 'blossomed' into womanhood because he decided it was time to kill her child within ("a child had died"). Puckett was obviously attracted to this girl's youthful virginity, and hence this song too communicates the negative message that there is much value to be found in youth (and any young girl can become a 'woman' by removing her clothes for a man). This song contributes to the backlash under the CP along with the others in this category, because of its relentless attempt to make women feel inadequate because of a lack of any culturally defined 'beautiful' quality.

... how destructive the consequences could be when the liberation rhetoric got mixed up in individual women's minds with cultural signals that were meant to undermine, not improve, their confidence and sense of self-worth. (Faludi, 1991:223)

CATEGORY 3: WOMAN AS DEPENDENT (EMOTIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY)

A total of 23 of the analyzed songs fell into this category (please refer to Appendix A). The requirement of this category was quite simplistic in nature; the song had to depict a woman who was either emotionally or economically dependent on a man. Under the CP, the ideal woman is indeed one who is economically dependent on the man in her life, which almost guarantees that she is not in the workforce demanding sexual equality for her work. As mentioned in the first chapter, the socialist feminist understanding of sexual subordination was crucial for this category for two reasons. The first reason is because socialist feminism understands that capitalism is coupled with patriarchy because, although it ironically wants women to constantly shop, ideally it sees the male as the primary income earner. The second reason is socialist feminism's recognition of radical feminism's understanding of patriarchal sexual power in society; a sexual ordering which reflects the view that women are indeed the weaker sex *emotionally*, as well as physically. They are assumed to be, and treated as, second class citizens or inferior creatures because of this presumed emotional weakness. And from this emotional weakness stems emotional dependence, which in turn, can also lead to economic dependence as suggested here by Joey Powers in 1963:

Meet me at midnight Mary
same place we always go
and don't let anyone know

don't let anyone know

Your daddy says I'm a bad boy
and you've no future with me
so we can only get together
by meeting secretly

Just got a job on the railroad
the work is hard and long
but I'm gonna build us a future
and show your daddy he's wrong

Soon as I have some money
for a home and everything
we won't have to keep it a secret
that you've got my wedding ring...

The crux of this song "Meet Me At Midnight Mary" is its implication that the lyrical woman will be completely satisfied in life if the singer is able to support her. Although the father is initially leery of Joey Powers, (the song artist) because Powers is seen as a "bad boy," the lyrics claim that this impression will fade the instant Powers can support Mary as a dependent. This song also recognizes the father's role (patriarchal), to settle for nothing less than a man who can care for his needy daughter. The message communicated follows traditional cultural guidelines and depicts the woman as economically dependent on the man, and content because of, or despite this.

Probably the biggest contribution to this category was by the "girl group" The Supremes. An extremely large proportion of their songs depicted emotionally dependent women. Songs such as "Where Did Our Love Go?" (1964), "Back In My Arms Again" (1965), "Come See About Me" (1964) and "Baby Love" (1964) all describe women who are at a complete emotional loss due to the absence of a man. Lead singer Diana Ross often sang in desperation, as she pleaded with the man in her life:

My world is empty without you babe....
 ... and as I go my way alone
 I find it hard for me to carry on
 I need your strength, I need your tender touch
 I need the love my dear- I miss so much...
 ("My World Is Empty," The Supremes, 1966)

Set me free why don't you babe?
 get outta my life why don't you babe?
 cause you don't really love me
 you just keep me hangin' on
 you don't really need me
 but you keep me hangin' on

... you claim you still care for me
 but your heart and soul need to be free
 and now that you've got your freedom
 you wanna still hold onto me
 you don't want me for yourself
 so let me find somebody else

Why don't you be a man about it
 and set me free
 now you don't care a thing about me
 you're just using me...
 ("You Keep Me Hanging On," The Supremes, 1966)

Both of these songs portray the woman as emotionally dependent. She is incapable of "carrying on" in either song without the presence of a man, and in both cases, implores him to hear her pleas. In "My World Is Empty" Ross openly admits that she relies on the strength of a man, and in "You Keep Me Hanging On" she begs the man to release her from her emotional ties to him. In either case, the woman is emotionally unstable and ridiculously helpless. Her identity is lost once the man in her life disappears and she is thus an empty vessel when by herself. This seemed to be The Supremes' most prevalent topic.

In "Walk On By" by Dionne Warwick (1964), Warwick cannot even pass her ex-lover in the street without being reduced to tears ("walk on by... make believe

that you don't see the tears; just let me grieve in private; cause each time I see you, I break down and cry..."). Warwick explains that she has been left with nothing but "tears and sadness" because the man in her life "said good-bye." She has been reduced to a hollow, dejected shell, and although she makes a concerted effort to keep walking without him, she is nonetheless an emotional wreck.

This inability of Warwick to 'go on' with her life in a normal fashion (i.e. composed, with at least some hope for the future) is significant insofar as the few songs analyzed that depicted the emotionally wounded male foresaw happier times for them. The lyrical woman who was dependent rarely, if ever had hope for the future, whereas the lyrical male who just experienced love loss was actually able to predict a brighter future. The song "Red Rubber Ball" by Cyrkle from 1966 for example portrayed a man who had just experienced the ending of his relationship with a woman, but he nevertheless had the courage to look forward ("...and I think it's gonna be alright, yes, the worst is over now, the morning sun is shining like a red rubber ball..."). This positive attitude was never something the 'dependent' lyrical woman had.

Similarly, in "Judy's Turn To Cry" performed by Lesley Gore in 1963, women are depicted as crying ninnies because the man can't seem to make up his mind with which woman he wishes to spend time. In her first hit "It's My Party," (1963) Gore revels in tearful sorrow because her boyfriend left and returned with another girl at her own party, but in "Judy's Turn To Cry," the saga continues in Gore's favour because 'Johnny' decided to return to her side.

... oh- when Johnny left with Judy at the party
and came back wearing his ring
I sat down and cried my eyes out
now that was a foolish thing

Cause now it's Judy's turn to cry (3X) (CHORUS)
Cause Johnny's come back to me

Well, it hurt me so to see them dance together
I felt like makin' a scene
then my tears just fell like raindrops
cause Judy's smile was so mean (repeat chorus)

One night I saw them kissing at a party
so I kissed some other guy
Johnny jumped up and he hit him
cause he still loved me that's why...

Gore's triumph over "Judy" then left the latter wallowing in tears. One pictures this "Johnny" bouncing from woman to woman at this party, leaving each one in a state of surprised grief and jealousy. This not only contributes to the 'divide and conquer' rule found to be so useful by antifeminists, but it also communicates the stereotypical idea that a woman is incapable of personal happiness without the presence of a man. In this case, Gore's victory is actually in vain since it is quite obvious that the only reason Johnny 'came back' was because Gore was bold enough to ignore her misery long enough to kiss another fellow and make him jealous (she succeeded).

The emotionally dependent lyrical woman, although she wants the man in her life to recognize her impassioned love for him and return it, is willing to adjust to a one-sided relationship. As long as the man is merely present in her life, she seems content simply because she is not alone, as demonstrated here by Dusty Springfield in her 1966 song "You Don't Have To Say You Love Me:"

When I said I needed you
you said you would always stay
it wasn't me who changed but you
and now you've gone away

Don't you see that now you've gone
and I'm left here on my own

that I have to follow you
and beg you to come home

You don't have to say you love me (CHORUS)
just be close at hand
you don't have to stay forever
I will understand
believe me, believe me
I can't help but love you
but believe me
I'll never tie you down...

In her song Springfield is willing to give up the man's affection and attention as long as he stays with her. Without him, she believes that "life seems dead" and that "there's nothing left to feel." She wants to be with him and show him her unconditional love ("I'll never tie you down"), and essentially asks nothing in return. This dependency leaves her helpless and weak since the man's mere presence is what gives her strength.

This message is compatible with the radical feminist understanding that women are believed to be the inferior sex simply due to biology. Songs such as this one by Springfield; "To know Him, Is to Love Him" (by Phil Spector's group The Teddy Bears from 1958), and "Baby It's You" by Smith (1969) depict women who are so overcome with their own emotional dependency that they are willing to pretend to need nothing in return. Simply "knowing" the man, or being "with" the man is enough for the emotionally dependent woman. Although she needs much more to be genuinely happy, she is perfectly willing to put up with minimal attention and affection. These songs also serve to justify the 'strong silent type' of male who adamantly refuses to indulge in blatantly 'emotional' expressions of affection and commitment. The message here is that a woman will not expect these things from the man if she is 'loving' him the 'right way.'

Because she desperately craves male attention, the lyrical woman will take whatever there is to receive. The woman in the Marvelettes' 1961 song "Please Mr. Postman" continuously waits by her mailbox for a "card or a letter" from her "boyfriend so far away." The singer notes in this song that each day the mailman passes her by, she stays there with "tears standin' in [her] eye" because "it's been a mighty long time" since she's heard from her boyfriend. The sheer hope of possibly receiving a letter forces her to wait for the mailman on a daily basis. "Johnny Angel" (1962) doesn't even know that Shelley Fabares exists, but nevertheless, she is willing to remain completely devoted to him:

Johnny angel, how I love him
he's got something that I can't resist
but he doesn't even know that I exist

...I dream of him and me
and how it's gonna be
other fellows call me up for a date
but I just sit and wait
I'd rather concentrate
on Johnny angel, cause I love him
and I pray that someday he'll love me
and together we will see how lovely heaven will be...

In keeping with this theme of the woman remaining committed to the oblivious, preoccupied man, this song also portrays the woman who continuously waits. She is shown no consideration or any affection (be that sign of affection a letter or an acknowledgement), but her emotional dependency compels her to linger in loneliness.

Aretha Franklin told the world that only a man could make her "feel like a natural woman" in "Natural Woman" (1967). Martha of Martha & The Vandellas struggled with her confusion because another "boy" was "coming around" who "talk[ed] just as sweet as" her boyfriend (she was "listening" because she had a

"loneliness within"). It is perhaps not surprising that the male performers of that era took such dependency for granted, as demonstrated here by The Guess Who:

She's come undun [sic]
 she didn't know what she was headed for
 and when I found out what she was headed for
 it was too late

She's come undun
 she found a mountain that was far too high
 and when she found out she couldn't fly
 it was too late...

The Guess Who released this song in 1969, and in it told the story of a woman who figuratively fell apart because the man in her life was not there to help her. "She didn't know what she was headed for," but the lead singer did, and when he found out, "it was too late." Since women are "by nature" the emotionally weaker sex, it is only logical that they fall apart when they attempt to tackle something without the help of a man. This song "Undun" exemplifies this theme, as does this hit by Fontella Bass:

Rescue me -oh take me in your arms
 rescue me -I want your tender charm
 cause I'm lonely, and I'm blue
 I need you, and your love too
 c'mon and rescue me

C'mon baby, and rescue me
 C'mon baby, and rescue me
 cause I need you by my side
 can't you see that I'm lonely?
 rescue me...

The 'damsel in distress' theme pervaded this musical era, as evidenced here by Bass from 1965. What the lonely woman needs is a man to rescue her. The average woman needs to be dependent on a man in order to function on a day-to-day basis. If he is not there to take care of her, she surely will come 'undone' and

is therefore constantly in need of "rescuing."

Sometimes, when she was fortunate enough, the lyrical damsel was saved. Her knight in shining armour appeared at exactly the right time to save her from another man, herself, or as suggested below by the 'girl group' The Angels, from her pending negative reputation:

He went away, and you hung around
and bothered me every night
and when I wouldn't go out with you
you said things that weren't very nice

My boyfriend's back and you're gonna be in trouble
(hey-la, hey-la my boyfriend's back)
I see him coming, better cut out on the double
(hey-la, hey-la my boyfriend's back)
you've been spreading lies that I was untrue
(hey-la, hey-la my boyfriend's back)
so look out now cause he's comin' after you
(hey-la, hey-la my boyfriend's back)

... my boyfriend's back he's gonna save my reputation
(hey-la...)

The lead singer of The Angels allowed herself to be harassed, and her 'reputation' to be tarnished because her boyfriend was not there to speak up for her. In this song "My Boyfriend's Back" (1963), the woman has no standing, no voice, no power. Without him, she is doomed. Like Fontella Bass' need to be rescued, this woman needed to be saved. In the song above, (as well as all the female performed songs in this category) yet another female performer contributes to the problem by acknowledging the patriarchal stereotype that women are helpless and therefore subordinate creatures. When the idea actually came up that a woman has the power to assert herself in a relationship, overcome her dependency and go on without the man, the response it met during the Golden Oldie era was not surprising 'over my dead body!':

... that'll be the day
 when you say good-bye
 yes, that'll be the day
 when you make me cry
 you say you're gonna leave
 you know it's a lie
 cause that'll be the day
 when I die....
 (The Crickets, "That'll Be The Day," 1957)

CATEGORY 4: WOMAN AS HAVING A PREDETERMINED PLACE IN SOCIETY

Under the CP, a woman can be ideologically predisposed emotionally and even physically, to fulfil specified positions in society. Her delegated responsibilities are within the home as the consumer, mother, devoted wife, etc. Her labours within these positions are economically unrecognized, as she receives no wages for her domestic work. If she braves the system and finds work outside the home, she is rewarded with inadequate wages and low hierarchical standing. Canadian women's average wage for full-time work outside the home in 1992, for example, was \$28,350 compared to men's average salary of \$39,468; this earnings ratio being 71.8% of men's salaries.²¹ (Cox, 1994:4[B]) Although the percentage of women participating in the labour force has grown considerably since the 1950s, it is still far below that of men. In 1988 for example, 5,853,000 women held positions within the labour force, compared to 7,422,000 men; and although

²¹ If one was to compare specific salaries of men and women who held identical jobs in Canada in 1987 for example, it would be discovered that a woman only made 53.5% of a man's salary in a medicine and/or health occupation. Her average salary within this position was \$25,302 compared to men's \$47,305. (Statistics Canada, 1990:101)

these statistics make women 44.1% of the labour force, women's participation rate was still only 57.4% compared to 76.6% for men. (Statistics Canada, 1990:78).

The songs of this category contribute to the maintenance of the dominant ideology by depicting women in specified roles. Songs performed either by women or men communicate traditional messages. A total of 18 of the analyzed songs out of 125 fell into this category (as illustrated in Appendix A). Those predetermined positions were in the home, by "her man," or simply as the subordinate female who was fully aware that the man automatically held a higher standing in society. As demonstrated below by Paul Anka, woman's domestic role was of utmost importance, especially as 'mother:'

You're having my baby
 what a lovely way of saying how much you love me
 you're having my baby
 what a lovely way of saying what you're thinking of me

I can see it
 your face is glowing
 I can see it in your eyes
 I'm happy knowing

That you're having my baby
 you're the woman I love
 and I love what it's doing to you
 you're having my baby

... whoa, the seed inside you
 baby do you feel it growing?
 are you happy knowing
 that you're having my baby?

[woman] I'm a woman in love
 and I love what's it's doing to me
 I'm having your baby
 I'm a woman in love and I love what's going through me

Didn't have to keep it
 wouldn't put you through it
 you could have swept it from your life

but you wouldn't do it, oh you wouldn't do it
and you're having my baby...

According to Anka in this 1974 song "Having My Baby," this woman has proved her love for him because she is having "HIS" baby. Interestingly, throughout the song, and by both performers, the child is constantly referred to as only Anka's baby. The woman in this instance is reduced to the childbearer; an occupied vessel with no other current goal than to be pregnant. Moreover, Anka's admiration for this woman because she chose not to 'sweep' the baby from her life complies with the Backlash against women, in so far as this message works against women's abortion rights. She is only an occupied vessel, having no personal rights over her own body. This idea of a woman 'having the man's baby' was also addressed by Faludi in her section "Bringing Up The Cinematic Baby." Faludi described the film "Overboard," (starring Goldie Hawn and Kurt Russell) with a specific focus on the main female character:

... *Overboard's* haughty heiress refuses to reproduce. But by the end of the film --after she is humiliated, forced to scrub floors and cook meals, and at last finds happiness as a housewife --she tells her tyrannical new husband of her greatest goal in life: having "his" baby. Women who resist baby fever, by controlling their fertility or postponing motherhood, are shamed and penalized. (1991:133).

Woman thus can only come to terms with her calling in life if she realizes that it is her womanly duty to have her man's baby. The child is not theirs, it is his, and she is simply the means by which the child will come into the world. Ultimate sexual inequality has been achieved when the woman feels it her obligation to demonstrate her devotion to a man by reproducing "his" offspring. Motherhood is a specific predetermined place for women under the CP because of the female subordination it implies.

I merely wish to argue that the activity of motherhood reflects the nature of political relations in society at large, which are relations of power. One must recognize that society has linked its definition of motherhood to the subordinate position of women as a sexual class. Biological motherhood must be distinguished from the political institution of motherhood, but this cannot happen unless one acknowledges the political dimension of motherhood. Only after the problem of sexual inequality has been resolved can the freedom to choose motherhood have any meaning. (Eisenstein, 1984:197)

It is her maternal duty to give the man her body sexually and maternally since her predetermined place is as "mother." This is how she is to prove her love.

Similarly, in the song "If I Were A Carpenter," (sung by Bobby Darin in 1966) the man places the woman of his interest into the position of 'mother' when he serenades:

If I were a carpenter
and you were a lady
would you marry me anyway
would you have my baby?

Darin's compliance with the CP is threefold in this song: he places her in the position of the proper lady, as the wife, and as the mother. This woman's place is in the home, with Darin as the breadwinner ("if I were a carpenter"), so she can be a proper wife and bear his children. Again, she is having 'his' baby, which demonstrates the patriarchal belief that a woman's pregnancy is a result of man's sexual conquest and manipulation. It is not a joint act, and in all probability the child will remain 'his' baby only until it needs to be fed at three o'clock in the morning.

In "I Will Follow Him" by Little Peggy March (1963), March "will follow him where ever he may go." The Chiffons' lead singer hoped that "one fine day you're gonna want me for your girl" in "One Fine Day" (1963). When Marcie Blane was asked what her goal in life was in 1962, she replied that it was to be "Bobby's

Girl." These songs all depict women who know their proper place: by their 'men.' These women dream of being with the men, are willing to follow them to do so, and accompanying a man is enough to provide them with personal fulfilment. Under the CP, the woman who knows that her place is in a subordinate relationship, is inherently a more valuable woman to men, rather than the woman who prefers to remain single. As demonstrated here by Mary Wells, a woman's proper place is not one that is unaccompanied by a man:

Nothing you could say could tear me away from my guy
 nothing you could do cause I'm stuck like glue to my guy
 I'm sticking to my guy like a stamp on a letter
 like birds of a feather we stick together
 I'm telling you from the start
 I can't be torn apart from my guy

Nothing you could do could make me untrue to my guy
 nothing you could buy could make me tell a lie to my guy
 I gave my guy my word of honour
 to be faithful and I'm gonna
 you best be believing I won't be deceiving
 my guy

As a matter of opinion I think he's tops
 my opinion is he's the cream of the crop
 as a matter of taste to be exact
 he's my ideal as a matter of fact...

This song, titled appropriately "My Guy" and sung by Wells in 1964 also characterizes the woman who knows that her proper place is by her man. As she explains in her lyrics, because she knows her place, absolutely nothing could possibly tear her away from the man in her life. The 'good' woman is faithful to her man, and although "he may not be a movie star," Wells will not budge from her position. It is difficult to conceive of a description of a relationship that would be more useful to the patriarchy. The most desirable woman will remain in her predetermined position regardless of circumstances:

Soldier boy, oh my little soldier boy
I'll be true to you

You were my first love
and you'll be my last love
I will never make you blue
I'll be true to you

In this whole world
you can love but one girl
let me be that one girl
and I'll be true to you

Where ever you go
my heart will follow
I love you so
I'll be true to you

Take my love with you
to any port or foreign shore
darling you must feel for sure
that I'll be true to you...

"Darling you must feel for sure," sang The Shirelles in their 1962 smash hit "Soldier Boy;" "that I'll be true to you." These women were consistently vowing to faithfully remain in their positions. It was their duty to be there and to wait there unconditionally, and it was their duty to put to rest any concerns the man may have about the possibility of their digression from that place. The group The Exciters also subscribed to this predetermined position in their song "Tell Him:"

I know something about love
you gotta want it bad
if that guy's got into your blood
go out and get him

If you want him to be the very part of you
that makes you want to breathe, here's the thing to do

Tell him that you're never gonna leave him (CHORUS)
tell him that you're always gonna love him
tell him, tell him, tell him right now

...Ever since the world began
 it's been that way for men
 and **women were created**
to make love their destiny
 then why should true love be so complicated?

... if you want him to be always by your side
 take his hand tonight, swallow your foolish pride..(chorus)

Again, this song communicates that it is woman's duty to be by the man in her life. In these songs, the woman pledges her love to one man (or advises another woman to do so) and promises to remain in her faithful position. The men described in these songs rarely if ever return the promise of commitment or appreciation; largely they seem to simply absorb the women's fidelity. "Tell Him," (1963) advises the infatuated woman not only to dedicate and commit herself to the man, but it also informs her that this is her duty in life ("...women were created to make love their destiny..."). The group refers to a woman's hesitation to swear herself to the man as "foolish pride," which adds insult to injury by implying that the woman who will not promise herself to a man is foolish rather than someone characterized by positive traits such as independence, assertiveness and intellect.

The lyrical male during the Golden Oldie period often fawned over and appreciated what a woman could do for him, but he rarely returned the favour of unconditional dedication like the women above. This refusal was demonstrated in songs such as "Happy Together" by The Turtles in 1967, where the lead singer boasts "...the only one **for me** is you, and you **for me**..." (emphasis mine) thus demonstrating male willingness to be in a 'relationship' that is one-sided when it comes to commitment. The lyrics here simply repeat "you for me," and leave out whether the male is acceptable to, much less desired by, the female. Perhaps the

songwriter's excuse for this was rhyme or metre in the lyrics, but if this was the case, then the sentence could have been written '...the only one for me is you, and me *for* you...' The lyrical man seemed to gladly accept the lyrical woman's committed position, but largely refused to take a similar position "by" her side. He seemed to believe that there was no obvious need to keep her happy; she would simply stay in her position, as also suggested here by Mick Jagger (of The Rolling Stones) in 1964:

Time is on my side (yes it is)
time is on my side (yes it is)
now you always say
that you want to be free
but you'll come runnin' back
you'll come runnin' back
you'll come runnin' back to meeeee...

If the woman rejected the norm and strayed from her position by her man, men like Brook Benton blamed women for men's own hardships in life afterwards ("Rainy Night In Georgia," 1970), or they took a more drastic approach, like Bobby Rydell, who in 1960 tried to keep his 'love' interest in her place by suggesting more forceful methods ("... wild one... I'll clip your wings and things...") in his song "Wild One." Thus, if the woman did not know her exact place by her man (and hence in these cases subordinate to him e.g. "To **Sir** With Love" by Lulu in 1967 [emphasis mine]) there was indeed a price to pay. Be that price threats or alienation from norm-deviation, a woman's proper place was supporting her man by always being by his side.

Besides the commonplace traditional positions of 'mother' or 'by her man,' the lyrical woman of the Golden Oldies was also advised through the lyrics to be domesticated. In some cases, this was in the role of consumer as in "Georgy Girl"

by The Seekers in 1967,²² but more often the domestic position deemed most appropriate was as the 'good' wife, as illustrated here by the Golden Oldie group

The Looking Glass:

There's a port on a Western Bay
and it serves a hundred ships a day
lonely sailors pass the time away
and talk about their homes

And there's a girl
in this harbour town
she works laying whiskey down
they say "Brandy, fetch another round"
she serves them whiskey and wine

The sailors say "Brandy, you're a fine girl
(you're a fine girl)
what a good wife you would be (such a fine girl)
yea, your looks could steal a sailor from the sea..."

This 1972 hit by The Looking Glass titled "Brandy" suggests that because this woman is serving men and is attractive, she would indeed make a "good wife." Brandy's job (duty) is to serve the men in the bar, and her willingness to do this characterizes her as a good candidate for a wife. The predetermined position valued here is as the devoted, complacent (assuming that "Brandy" would never be rude to a paying customer), waitress, otherwise known in the traditional sense as the 'wife.' Similarly, the grotesquely insulting one-hit song by Jimmy Soul from 1963 titled "If You Wanna Be Happy" also advocates the importance of the woman

²² The position of the consumer is seen here to be a domesticated one under the CP, since advertisers "view the housewife as the ideal shopper." (Faludi, 1991:148) In the case of the Golden Oldie "Georgy Girl" however, the focus of the song is a young woman who, as suggested by the singers should make an effort to improve her appearance ("...why do all the boys just pass you by..."). The singers wonder what her problem must be, i.e. her weight or perhaps the clothes she wears. The song's message is ultimately that she should improve her appearance for everyone's sake, and if she were to improve her 'closet,' she could purchase herself a whole new persona.

who knows her domestic duties:

If you wanna be happy for the rest of your life (CHORUS)
 never make a pretty woman your wife
 so from my personal point of view
 get an ugly girl to marry you

A pretty woman makes a husband look small
 and very often causes his downfall
 as soon as he marries her, then she starts
 to do the things that will break his heart

But if you make an ugly woman your wife
 you'll be happy for the rest of your life
 an ugly woman cooks meals on time
 she'll always give you peace of mind

Don't let your friends say you have no taste
 go ahead and marry anyway
 though her face is ugly, there's no match
 take it from me, she's a better catch!

"Say man!"
 "Yea baby!"
 "I saw your wife the other day!"
 "Yea?"
 "Yea! She's uglyyyy!"
 "Yea, she's ugly, but she sure can cook baby!"

Probably one of the stronger examples within this category, this song communicates the traditional value of the woman who knows how to cook, which overshadows any other attribute. Her "ugly" qualities give Soul peace of mind, since he believes that an "ugly" woman will not stray from her position. He is not insulted by his friend's comment because he's secure in the knowledge that this woman is at home preparing his meal ("...cooks meals on time"). His perception of this woman as "ugly" is also highly questionable, since according to the beauty myth, all women must be convinced that they are inherently "ugly" in order for the beauty industries to prosper. Under the CP system, no woman can be beautiful on her own; she is "ugly" until a man attests to her attractiveness (and worth).

The CP system prefers the traditional sexual hierarchy when it comes to women's place in society. If she conforms to this place, then advertisers will have their audiences, there will be little or no demand for government supported national day care facilities, and since fewer women would be in the workforce employers would have to deal with significantly fewer demands for equal pay for equal work. Ironically, on the other hand, the CP is arguably also pleased when women are working and supplementing the family income because this can increase consumption potential. However, at the same time, these women must become 'super women' performing domestic duties for free, acting as the primary caregivers, etc. The 'super woman' also uses a significant proportion of her wages to pay for private day care services. The CP system has covered all bases. Preferably, the woman should stay home, but if she does manage to find work outside, this too will somehow benefit the CP.

... because women are not defined as workers within the ruling ideology, women are not paid for their labor or are paid less than man. The sexual definition of woman as mother either keeps her in the home doing unpaid labor or enables her to be hired at a lower wage because of her defined sexual inferiority. (Eisenstein, 1979:29)

The songs of this category adhere to the dominant ideology which determined long ago that women had to fulfil certain positions within society. Since the primary buyers of popular music are young women, as Audrey Becker points out in her aforementioned article, the possibility of also buying a female image is distressing. It is in particular for this reason that "the industry, in its promotion of certain acceptable female roles, must assume responsibility for the propagation of negative stereotypes and the inundation of sexist material." (Becker, 1990:2) This is however, unlikely since there has yet been any move to

critically examine these texts for stereotypical assertions. Too many of these songs help predetermine the proper roles for women, be those stereotypical roles in the home, as mother, as wife, as consumer, or as the male support system. Any straying from the defined norm is perceived by the CP as a deviation. This is not a woman's world.

This is a man's world
 this is a man's world
 this is a man's world
 but it wouldn't be nothing
 without a woman or a girl

You see, man made the cars
 that take us over the road
 man made the train
 to carry the heavy load

Man made the electric light
 to take us out of the dark
 man made the boat for the water
 like Noah made the Arc

This is a man's, man's, man's world...
 (James Brown, "It's A Man's, Man's, Man's World," 1966)

CATEGORY 5: WOMAN AS VICTIMIZED BY THE SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD

This category revolves around the fact that sex-role double standards exist in music as well as in real life, and although some progress has been made and these attitudes are not as blatantly adhered to in today's society as they were 20 or 30 years ago, they do still exist, especially in this music. Progress has been made, but older music such as the Golden Oldies of yesteryear echo more outdated attitudes. In this sense, these antiquated attitudes do to a greater extent exist in the music. The predominance of sexual stereotypes in the songs of the

Golden Oldie era has led to a total of 29 songs in this particular category (please refer to Appendix A).

Patriarchy's need to subordinate women often results in the application of double standards for men and women; what applies for one does not apply to the other. In this case, the lyrical male who is liberal in his sexual behaviour, that is, he is 'active' with numerous women is too often heralded by society as a man sowing his wild oats; a man who is experiencing life before he 'settles down.' The freely sexual woman, on the other hand, is labelled by society as 'slut,' 'whore,' 'easy,' or perhaps a 'runaround.' These harsh labels are implicit in the lyrics. The songs that fall into this category support this sexual double standard by implying that it is perfectly acceptable for a man to practice more liberated sexual habits including infidelity, and intolerable for a woman to exercise the same right. Men should have harems, as suggested here by Dion & The Belmonts:

Oh, I'm the type of guy who will never settle down
 where pretty girls are, well you know that I'm around
 I kiss 'em and I love 'em cause to me they're all the same
 I hug 'em and I squeeze 'em, they don't even know my name

They call me the wanderer (CHORUS)
 yea, the wanderer
 I roam around, around, around, around

Oh well there's Flo on my left and there's Mary on my right
 and Janie is the girl that I'll be with tonight
 and when she asks me which one I love the best
 I'll tear open my shirt and I show a "Rosie" on my chest

(CHORUS)

Well I roam from town to town
 I go through life without a care
 and I'm as happy as a clown...

... and when I find myself falling for some girl
 I hop right into that car of mine

and I drive around the world...

"The Wanderer," (1962) tells a story to the listener about a boastful man who prides himself on his tendency to wander in and out of the lives of several different women. He has women on each arm, and others waiting for him in the background, and is committed to no one. When women ask him for some type of verbal promise, he only informs them that if there was a promise to be made, it simply would not be made to them ("... I show a 'Rosie' on my chest"). When this 'wanderer' makes the horrendous mistake of actually caring for one of the women he is with, then he immediately removes himself from the situation in order to remain distanced from all his sexual conquests. Women are of no use to him emotionally; he prefers the everlasting and proud practice of 'wandering' around from encounter to encounter. In 1961, Ricky Nelson had the same attitude in his song "Travellin' Man," where he told of his 'experiences' travelling around the world.

...in every port I own the heart
of at least one lovely girl

I've a pretty senorita waiting for me
down in old Mexico
and if you're ever in Alaska
stop and see my cute little eskimo

Oh, my sweet fraulein
down in Berlin town
makes my heart start to yearn
and my China doll down in old Hong Kong
waits for my return
... I'm a travellin' man, yes, I'm a travellin' man...

Nelson enjoys his international conquests, and boasts that each woman is committed to him (they're all waiting and ready for his sudden appearance). He obviously has no use for an exclusive relationship with one woman; he would

much rather prove the extensiveness of his travels by experiencing the love of women from around the globe. Nelson uses their affections to make himself believe that he is indeed well-travelled, and therefore more 'manly' than the man who perhaps is foolish enough to promise himself to one woman. Many Golden Oldies reiterate this theme such as "I Get Around" by the Beach Boys from 1964 ("...we always take our car and we've never been beat and we've never missed yet with the girls we meet..."); and "Surf City" by Jan & Dean from 1963 ("...two girls for every boy..."). Each song sings of liberated men whose growing sexual conquests contribute to their self esteem. Under a patriarchal system, this is acceptable male behaviour because for the most part they do not suffer the comparable social disapproval as sexually liberated women.

The 'liberated' male with the harem rarely, if ever, met with repercussions of any sort for his behaviour. At times, his biggest problem was having to choose one woman at a time, as demonstrated here by The Lovin' Spoonful:

Did you ever have to make up your mind
and pick up one girl and leave the other behind?
it's not often easy, and not often kind
did you ever have to make up your mind?

Did you ever have to finally decide
and say yes to one and let the other one ride?
there's so many changes and tears you must hide
did you ever have to finally decide?

Sometimes there's one with big blue eyes
cute as a button, with hair down to here and plenty of money
and just when you think she's that one in the world
your heart gets stolen by some mousy little girl

And then you know you've got to make up your mind...

Sometimes you really dig a girl, the moment you kiss her
and then you get distracted by her older sister
when in walks her father, and takes you aside

and says "better go home son, and make up your mind..."

This song, "Did You Ever Have To Make Up Your Mind" (1966) depicts the wandering male who is incapable of remaining with one woman. His reasons for being with, or leaving women are fundamentally absurd ("...cute as a button, with hair down to here and plenty of money...") and his disregard for their feelings demonstrates that they only serve as his personal conquests. The section of lyrics which is particularly disturbing is when the father of one of his conquests enters the scene, and instead of throwing this man out on his ear for ignoring the feelings of both daughters, he complies with the sexual double standard and calmly suggests that this man "make up [his] mind." How many fathers today see their own daughters as mere triumphs for some roaming male?

It's extremely significant that in society, it's perfectly acceptable for a man to have endless sexual experiences as in the Rolling Stones' hit "Satisfaction" (1965) where Mick Jagger "can't get no satisfaction" even though he openly admits that "I try, and I try..." The woman who is sexually liberated however, is described and classified as "Poison Ivy," (The Coasters, 1959); a 'runaround' to "keep away from" as in "Runaround Sue" (Dion & The Belmonts, 1961); or, worse yet, the devil, as in "Devil With The Blue Dress On" (Mitch Ryder & Detroit Wheels, 1966). Elvis Presley, loyal contributor to this study, also portays the sexually 'liberated' woman as evil in this song:

You look like an angel
walk like an angel
talk like an angel
but I got wise
you're the devil in disguise --oh yes you are
devil in disguise

You fool me with your kisses

you cheated and you schemed
 hell knows how you lied to me
 you're not the way you seemed

I thought that I was in heaven
 but I was sure surprised
 heaven help me I didn't see
 the devil in your eyes...

Presley's hit "Devil in Disguise" (1963) exemplifies this double standard by negatively labelling the woman. She's the devil because of her infidelity, and Presley is mystified that she could do such a thing ("hell knows how you lied to me..."). The woman who takes sexual liberties is punished for much more than the act itself. She is stigmatized and tarnished by a few well-chosen words. Similarly, in his song "Little Sister," (1961) Presley again speaks negatively of the female who is sexually active by warning a young girl that it would be unwise of her to follow in her sister's footsteps ("...don't do what your big sister done..."). Stereotypical definitions of women who practice sexual prowess and/or infidelity include slut and whore, but interestingly, there is no equivalent definition with as much negative connotation attached for men who do the same thing (perhaps a male 'slut?')

At times during this era of music, songs actually depicted men who were hurt by the evil wandering habits of women. Songs such as "When Will I Be Loved?" by The Everly Brothers from 1960 ("...I've been cheated and mistreated, when will I be loved?"); "I Wish It Would Rain" by The Temptations from 1968 ("...sunshine, blue skies, please go away, my girl has found another and gone away, with her went my future, my life is filled with gloom...") and "This Diamond Ring" by Gary Lewis and The Playboys from 1965 ("...this diamond [engagement] ring doesn't shine for me anymore...") all tell stories of men whose self esteem has

been wounded because a woman simply up and left them for another man. Although these songs suggest that a man is not infallible, they nevertheless paint a stereotypically negative picture of the uncommitted woman.

Often during this era, the songs depicting the 'hurt' male resulted in his wishing for revenge. Although these men had been emotionally wounded, these songs foretold of 'happier' times for them (a brighter future always overlooked in the female performed dependence songs). Songs such as "96 Tears" by ? & The Mysterians (1966) paint vivid pictures of men who long for the day when the women who damaged their self confidence would feel the same pain ("...we'll be together for just a little while, and then I'm gonna put you way down here, and you'll start cryin' 96 tears, cry, cry..." ? & The Mysterians). In this sense, the sexual double standard applies not only because the lyrical woman who has done the 'hurting' is regarded as evil, but also because the lyrical man deems revenge the most appropriate solution. Not only will the uncommitted woman bear the brunt of a tarnished reputation, but she will also have to face her inevitable punishment, as suggested below by The Searchers:

I saw her today, I saw her face
it was a face I loved and I knew
I had to run away
but still they'd begin; needles and pins

...Let her go ahead, take his love instead
and one day she will see just how to say please
and get down on her knees, yea
that's how it begins; she'll feel those needles and pins...

This 1964 hit "Needles and Pins" exemplifies the double standard that women must be held accountable for their actions, but men do not, as the hurt women in category 3 demonstrated. The woman who is incapable of, or who is simply not

ready to be committed to one man deserves sadistic punishment in addition to an unpleasant reputation. Songs such as "Needles and Pins" suggest that revenge is sweet for the man who is not emotionally infallible.

Such sexual double standards serve to oppress women, and suggest that there will be a price to pay if the woman chooses to do as she pleases. Although she is exercising her right to choose, she ultimately must face the unavoidable repercussions as demonstrated here by Mel & Tim:

... I'm gonna have to penalize you
you know that's against the rules
offside and holding --yea!
you oughta be ashamed of yourself, baby
holding onto someone else

You know you cheated baby
breaking the bounds...

Mel & Tim see fit to punish the unfaithful woman in their song "Backfield In Motion" (1969), by using sports terminology to describe how and where this woman has disregarded the rules of the game (the phrase "backfield in motion" also having quite a picturesque quality when it comes to her sexual infidelity). Her decision to cheat on the man has resulted in vague threats and shame.

During the Golden Oldie era, when a woman chose to ignore the 'rules' of a relationship, she was punishable. When a man found himself involved in 'extra-curricular' love activity, on the other hand, it was too often dismissed as male nature and prerogative. In 1970, Stevie Wonder offered himself "Signed, Sealed, Delivered (I'm yours)," to the woman in his life, hoping she would forgive him for when he had "done a lot of things that [he] really didn't mean, [he had] seen alot of things in this 'ole world, [and] when [he] touched them they meant nothing..." In 1966, Lou Christie gave one of the ultimate examples of a man's inability to

remain faithful. In his song, "Lightening Strikes," he fully expects this woman to "stick around" while he sleeps around. He 'vows' to this woman that he wants her to be the one "he can trust to the very end," but until then she must accept the fact that he will be with other women (hence: "lightening's striking again..."). He blames his incapacity for commitment to one woman on nature, a force beyond human control or comprehension, implying that men are inherently incapable of suppressing their sexual urges.

Listen to me baby you gotta understand
 you're old enough to know the makings of a man
 listen to me baby it's hard to settle down
 am I asking too much for you to stick around?

Every boy wants a girl he can trust to the very end
 baby that's you, won't you wait, but till then:

When I see lips baby to be kissed (stop!)
 I can't stop (stop!) I can't stop (stop!)
 Lightening's striking again!
 Lightening's striking again!

Nature's taking over my one-tracked mind
 believe it or not you're in my heart all the time
 all the girls are saying that you'll wind up a fool
 for the time being baby, live by my rules

When I settle down I want one baby on my mind
 forgive and forget and I'll make up for lost time
 -- if she's put together fine and she's reading my mind
 I can't stop (stop!) I can't stop...

As he states quite plainly, when he "sees lips... to be kissed" he cannot hold back. He fully expects this woman, however, to wait for him faithfully ("for the time being baby, live by my rules"). His infidelity is inevitable according to this song, and this is absolutely acceptable. He cannot even finish his promise to her before he's forced to succumb to his sexual urges again ("...I'll make up for lost time --if she's

put together fine and she's reading my mind, I can't stop..."). Songs such as this attempt to make the sexual double standard palatable by making light (no pun intended) of the situation.

On the other hand, women who are sexually active and/or unfaithful are a "Witchy Woman," as suggested by the Eagles in 1972, whereas when the man is thought to be unfaithful, he expects understanding because of his natural make-up, and he expects forgiveness, as in Elvis Presley's "Suspicious Minds" from 1969 ("...we can't build our dreams on suspicious minds, so if an old friend stops by to say hello, would I still see suspicion in your eyes?").

The woman who is a 'slut' is victimized by her own right to exercise her sexual rights as a human being. If she chooses to refute the appropriate virtue and wholesome attitude of society's 'lady,' then she must automatically bear the brunt of negative labels as well as an equally unbecoming reputation. She is reputed for her sexual vigour and is consequently classified as a whore, like the lyrical woman of the song "Come A Little Bit Closer" by Jay & the Americans (1964). This song describes a woman with liberal sexual attitudes, and because of this, she is understood as being a woman known to regularly say "come a little bit closer, you're my kind of man... so big and so strong..." Her willingness to flatter and beguile her victims before she does them wrong forces her to resemble a black widow spider, waiting for a mate.

Man's challenge to tame a whore into the lady she is expected to be has also been a theme addressed during the Golden Oldie era. In Wilson Pickett's 1966 hit "Mustang Sally," Pickett prides himself on his knowledge that his own sexual power can and will change this woman:

Mustang Sally
 guess you'd better slow your mustang down
 well I say now,
 Mustang Sally now baby, (oh Lord)
 guess you'd better slow your mustang down
 oh yea --you've been runnin' all over the town
 oh --guess I have to put your flat feet on the ground
 well I say now,

All you wanna do is ride around Sally
 (ride Sally, ride)
 (4X)

"Sally" is characterized as a woman who does not deserve respect due to her nickname "Mustang Sally." By applying the meaning behind the term 'mustang,' which compares an uncontrollable, untamable wild animal to this woman, her reputation is inevitably discoloured. By comparing her to something as unruly as an undomesticated horse, her name is slandered and her worth is ultimately discredited.

Within a system that cherishes tradition and the traditional woman, sexual liberation is not permissible in any sense of the phrase. She is inherently unequal because she is a woman, and her being a woman forbids her to have the same ridiculous privileges (such as the right to decide whether or not to remain faithful) as well as respected privileges as a man. The man who is sexually aggressive is heralded as a hero, while the woman who is so is a 'runaround.' The man who is unfaithful is simply responding to his natural make-up; the woman who cheats is not only demoralized, but is also worthy of severe punishment; so worthy in fact, that he who punishes her is blameless:

Hey Joe --where ya goin' with that gun in your hand?
 (I said)
 Hey Joe --where ya goin' with that gun in your hand?
 I'm goin' out and find my woman now-
 she's been runnin' 'round with some other man

... Hey Joe, tell me what are you gonna do?
 Well, I guess I'll shoot 'em both before I'm through
 and there ain't gonna be no hang-man's ropes gonna be
 put around me...
 ("Hey Joe," The Leaves, 1966)

CATEGORY 6: WOMAN WITHOUT VOICE

In all of the songs studied, woman's voice has been stifled, muted, distorted and manipulated. Her thoughts have been disregarded, or blatantly ignored. This is not surprising since most of the lyrics performed by women as well as men were largely written by men. The songs in this particular category, however, take this matter a step beyond distortion or manipulation; here, woman's voice is eradicated, absent, silent or just so pitifully weak that it is irrelevant.

Black feminist bell hooks discusses the role of the silent woman, and more specifically the silent Black woman in her text Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black. She explains the role of female silence, describing the phenomenon as it is understood within feminist circles: "silence is often seen as the sexist 'right speech of womanhood' --the sign of woman's submission to patriarchal authority." (1988:6). She elaborates on her reader's understanding of the significance of the Black woman who is encouraged to remain silent, as she believes there is a difference between her and the white woman who has been asked to keep quiet.

To make my voice, I had to speak, to hear myself talk --and talk I did-- darting questions in and out of grown folks' conversations and dialogues, answering questions that were not directed at me, endlessly asking questions, making speeches. Needless to say, the punishments for these acts of speech seemed endless. They were intended to silence me --the child-- and more particularly the girl

child. Had I been a boy, they might have encouraged me to speak believing that I might someday be called to preach. (1988:6)

Hooks emphasizes the fact that women in Black communities have actually not been silent; that their voices can and will be heard as they emerge from one nature and direction of speech to another. She notes however, that within the white feminist community (particularly from WASP backgrounds) woman's silence may indeed be an "accurate remembering of what has taken place" in these households. Differences aside for the moment, what is significant for this study is the actual need of the patriarchy to silence women of every background, some more than others. Women are taught that 'silence is ladylike' and that the properly behaved woman often does not speak unless she is spoken to. The woman's presence may be fundamentally important to the man, but her voice is largely not. During times of backlash, woman's silence is crucial, since the over-zealous woman who speaks out can harm the traditional way things are to be run.

Get "power" by "surrendering" and "submitting" to your man's every whim, a leading '80s self-help manual advises in typical feminist-sounding rhetoric. Don't talk back, because a ladylike silence will "enhance" your "self-respect" and "feeling of mastery. (Faludi, 1991:338)

Whether the text which is suggesting that women keep quiet is pseudo-therapy for 'feminists' or popular music, both reach their audience and communicate a negative message. It can be assumed however, that women will encounter this message by hearing these songs, moreso than they would encounter it in self-help books simply because of the different channels of distribution.

A total of three songs studied fell into this category, and although this number is not as great as previous categories, this does not make this patriarchal suggestion any less significant. The woman in Elvis Presley's song "The Wonder

of You" (1970) for example is completely voiceless. Presley serenades this woman throughout his song, repeatedly wondering aloud what she sees in him. He sings of his adoration for her, and how she makes him feel, all the while marvelling her ability to "give [him] strength to carry on." Although he spends his time pondering where her love comes from, he never gives her the chance to answer.

...and you're always there
to lend a hand
in everything I do
it's the wonder
the wonder of you

And when you smile
the world is brighter
you touch my hand
and I'm a king
your kiss to me
is worth a fortune
your love for me is everything

I guess I'll never know
the reason why
you love me as you do
that's the wonder
the wonder of you...

Rather than simply asking this woman why she loves him the way she does, Presley prefers to wonder about it endlessly. He seems to admire her silence ("...that's the wonder, the wonder of you..."), and appears to be attracted to it. His refusal to let her voice her feelings ("...I guess I'll never know the reason why you love me as you do...") leaves her completely mute, and ultimately renders anything she has to say inconsequential. Perhaps the "wonder" of her is actually Presley himself. What she does for him is altogether more important than anything she has to say.

This Presley hit, although it illustrates how a woman's opinion could be

seen as immaterial, pales in comparison to the following two examples. "Patches" by Clarence Carter (1970) also falls under this heading not only because it too refuses to acknowledge the voice of the lyrical woman, but by doing so, it also ignores her obvious presence. This song tells a story about a father who, from his death bed, is asking his son to take over the father's job of taking care of the family after he is gone. He asks his son to be the man of the household and provide the family with the needed support and security, all the while ignoring the presence and contributions of the mother. Her exclusion from this conversation communicates the message that her input and actual presence are completely inconsequential, and her pathetic prayer* near the end of the song deems what little voice she has irrelevant.

I was born and raised down in Alabama
 on a farm way back up in the woods
 I was so ragged, folks used to call me "Patches"
 Papa used to tease me about it cause deep down
 he was hurt cause he'd done all he could do

My papa was a great old man
 I can see him with a shovel in his hand
 see, education he never had
 he did wonders when the times got bad

the little money from the crops he raised
 barely paid the bills we made

Oh, life had kicked him down to the ground
 when he tried to get up
 life would kick him back down
 one day papa called me to his dying bed

Put his hands on my shoulders and through his tears, he said
 "Patches, I'm depending on you son.
 To pull the family through, my son
 it's all left up to you."

Two days later, papa passed away
 and I became a man that day

so I told mama I was gonna quit school
but she said that was Daddy's strictest rule

So every morning before I went to school
I fed the chickens and I chopped wood too
sometimes I felt that I couldn't go on
I wanted to leave, just run away from home

But I would remember what my Daddy said
the tears in his eyes on his dying bed
he said "Patches, I'm depending on you son.
I tried to do my best, it's up to you to do the rest."

Then one day a strong rain came
and washed all the crops away
and at the age of 13, I thought I was
carrying the weight of the world on my shoulders

And you know, mama knew what I was going through
cause everyday I had to work the fields cause
that's the only way we got our meals
see, I was the oldest in the family

And everybody was depending on me
every night I heard my mama pray
"Lord, give him strength to make another day..."*

Rather than assuming that the mother will have the intelligence and ability to take care of her own family, the father turns to the only one he sees fit to take on the job: the other male in the house. The mother also appears to see herself as incapable of handling the responsibility of taking care of her own family, which is why she is completely dependent on her young son. It is significant that this woman is ignored in this song because her lyrical character could also represent an early version of the 'superwoman.' Within such rural settings, women with families often tended to the 'chores' around the farm in addition to taking care of the people within the household. Her presence, however, is useless in this song, and she is seen to bear no economic importance within her family.

Similarly, the song "Cat's In The Cradle" by Harry Chapin (1974) depicts a

family unit which is evidently without a mother figure. As this father and son relationship continued throughout the years, the mother was non-existent, and when the son had a family of his own, again, the 'mother' of his children was never acknowledged.

My child arrived just the other day
 he came to the world in the usual way
 but there were planes to catch and bills to pay
 he learned to walk while I was away
 and he was talking 'fore I knew it, and as he grew
 he'd say "I'm gonna be like you dad;
 you know I'm gonna be like you."

And the cat's in the cradle
 and the silver spoon
 little boy blue and the man in the moon
 "when you comin' home dad?"
 "I don't know when, but we'll get together then.
 You know we'll have a good time then."

My son turned ten just the other day
 he said "thanks for the ball Dad, c'mon let's play,
 can you teach me to throw?"
 I said "not today, I got a lot to do"
 He said "that's o.k."
 and he walked away but his smile never dimmed
 it said I'm gonna be like him, yea
 you know I'm gonna be like him

Well he came from college just the other day
 so much like a man I just had to say
 "Son I'm proud of you, can you sit for awhile?"
 He shook his head and he said with a smile
 "What I'd really like Dad, is to borrow the car keys
 see you later, can I have them please?"

I've long since retired, my son's moved away
 I called him up just the other day
 I said "I'd love to see you if you don't mind"
 He said "I'd like to Dad, if I could find the time
 you see my new job's a hassle, and the kids have the flu
 but it's sure nice talkin' to you Dad
 it's been sure nice talkin' to you."
 And as I hung up the phone it occurred to me
 he'd grown up just like me

my boy was just like me...

This sad tale of a father and son growing apart over the years illustrates the theme of women's silence by, once again, not accounting for the presence of the woman. This song in isolation is not as bad as others; men can indeed have "their" stories, **but** women need "their" stories as well. The child's mother is never mentioned; her existence has no bearing on either males' life, and she is completely silent. The father never referred to his wife, and when the son grew up and had his own family, he too neglected to mention the mother of the children who had "the flu."

These three songs are significant, not only because they depict situations where the woman's presence and voice are disregarded, but also because of the time frame within which these songs were created. Interestingly, all three were released in the early 1970s, a time known to represent the 'coming out' of the feminist movement. These songs comply with traditional society, and grasp at straws for women's silence during a time when women no longer wished to remain quiet. These songs do the same thing the press, for example, has done to many feminist groups:

The press, which generally ignored NOW conventions, exploded with outrage, anger and derision. "Not NOW --It's Time for Consensus, not Conflict," ordered the *Washington Posts's* Outlook editor Jodie Allen in an opinion piece. "Somebody has to say it, Molly Yard [NOW president], shut up." (Faludi, 1991:277)

THE "SUPER" SONGS

As mentioned previously, songs which actually had lyrics which crossed

into each category fall under this heading. They are sexist in respect to all six categories simultaneously, and a total of two songs have the 'honour.'

Well, she's all you'd ever want
 she's the kind I'd like to flaunt
 and take to dinner
 well, she always knows her place
 she's got style, she's got grace
 she's a winner

She's a lady (CHORUS)
 oh, she's a lady
 talkin' about that little lady
 and the lady is mine

Well, she's never in the way
 always something nice to say
 what a blessing
 I can leave her on her own
 knowing she's o.k. alone
 and there's no messin'

Well, she never asks very much
 and I don't abuse her
 always treat her with respect
 I never would abuse her
 what she's got is hard to find
 and I don't want to lose her
 help me build a mountain from a pile of clay

Well, she knows what I'm about
 she can take what I dish out
 and that's not easy
 well, she knows me through and through
 and she knows just what to do
 and how to please me...

...Listen to me people, she's a lady...

This song serves as a criteria list for the perfect woman. According to Tom Jones in this hit Oldie "She's A Lady" (1971), the perfect woman falls victim to all the sexist categories outlined here. She's possessable and a sex object which forces her to be a commodity ("...the lady is mine... she knows just what to do and

how to please me"); she's attractive enough for him to show off, so she's an appendage ("...she's the kind I'd like to flaunt... she's got style, she's got grace..."); she will not leave him, so she must be dependent to stay with him ("...she can take what I dish out.."); she is fully aware of what position she must fulfil, so she's in a predetermined place ("...well, she always knows her place..."); she will remain faithful to him no matter where he goes or what he does so she complies with her stereotypical sexual double standard ("...I can leave her on her own knowing she's o.k. alone and there's no messin'... she knows what I'm about..."); and finally, she never says a word ("...she never asks very much...") while he describes her to the "people," so she is voiceless. Jones informs the audience that all of these qualities are "hard to find," and that the woman who possesses them all is "a blessing." The only thing he mentions that he does specifically for her is that he refrains from abusing her at all times. This song degrades men as well as women by conforming with too many patriarchal stereotypes.

The Rolling Stones makes the last contribution to this category, and this chapter, with the horrible song "She's Under My Thumb" (1966).

Under my thumb
the girl who once had me down
under my thumb
the girl who once pushed me around

It's down to me
the difference in the clothes she wears
down to me, the changes come
she's under my thumb (ain't it the truth baby?)

Under my thumb
is a squirmy dog who's just had her day
under my thumb
a girl who has just changed her ways

It's down to me, yes it is

the way she does what she's told
 down to me, the changes come
 she's under my thumb (say it's alright)

Under my thumb
 it's a Siamese cat of a girl
 under my thumb
 she's the sweetest pet in the world

It's down to me
 the way she talks when she's spoken to
 down to me, the changes come
 she's under my thumb...

Once again, Mick Jagger verbalizes his personal and patriarchal attitude towards woman in general. In this case, this woman appeals to him because she too falls victim to all the sexist categories. She's possessable and controllable throughout the lyrics, so she's his commodity ("...she's under my thumb..."); she controls her appearance to his specifications depending on how he wishes to present her, so she's his appendage ("...it's down to me, the difference in the clothes she wears..."); she puts up with his tyrannical attitude, which means she must be dependent on him in some way or another ("...the way she does just what she's told..."); she remains in this humiliating position, so she's very much aware of her duty to comply with her predetermined position of being under his control while she's by his side; she's degraded by name-calling and he boasts that he has changed her habits, so she's victim of the sexual double standard ("...is a squirmy dog who's just had her day, under my thumb is a girl who has just changed her ways..."); and finally, she knows when to keep quiet, so she's voiceless ("...the way she talks when she's spoken to..."). Again, this song lays out recommendations with which one is to use to determine the worth of a woman.

According to this song, and all of the songs of all of the categories, woman's

value is determined by highly specific criteria. The woman who does not comply with at least one of these categories is less valuable in the eyes of the patriarchy. Under the system of CP, a woman is worth nothing unless she adheres to and lives her life by traditionally strict and ideologically unchanging rules.

THE CONTRADICTIONS

The last three songs to be analyzed in this chapter are each sung by women. Each is highly significant in its own right and each is significant within the time frames they were created. These three songs serve as 'contradictions,' because of their effort to go against the patriarchal grain; a grain too often emulated in the songs of this era.

The three songs are as follows:

"Respect" performed by Aretha Franklin in 1967

"You Don't Own Me" performed by Lesley Gore in 1964

"I Am Woman" performed by Helen Reddy in 1972

The first song, "Respect," has enjoyed its share of fame and fortune, but has experienced waning popularity in recent years. It was rated song number 60 in CKLW 93.9 FM's 1992 summer "Freedom 500 Countdown;" placed in the number 144 position in the same station's 1993 countdown "The Top 500 of All-Time;" and interestingly, did not even place in WOMC 104.3 FM's 1993-94 "Top 104 Countdown" New Year's competition. In the song, Franklin attempts to assert her self worth by requesting basic consideration from the man in her life; respect as a person, and as a woman.

What you want
 baby I got it
 what you need
 you know I got it
 all I'm askin'
 is for a little respect when you come home

I ain't gonna do you wrong
 while you're gone
 ain't gonna do you wrong
 cause I don't wanna
 all I'm askin'
 is for a little respect when you come home

...ooo- your kiss is
 sweeter than honey
 and guess what?
 so is my money
 all I want you to do for me
 is to give it to me when you come home
 R-E-S-P-E-C-T
 find out what it means to me...

Although she is only placing a minimal request throughout the song, this was nevertheless progressive compared to the other songs of this era. Admittedly, while she asks this man to respect her, she promises that she will be faithful ("...I ain't gonna do you wrong while you're gone..."), and she does offer herself to him ("...what you want, baby I got it..."), but the overall message here is a positive one. The fact that she has her own money suggests that she has a job, and the mere fact that she is asking this man for respect is promising. Although this request for respect is not as strong as it could be, this song represents a progressive stepping stone for the songs that were to come. Franklin is not helpless, nor is she completely dependent, which helps this song deliver a contradictory message to her predetermined roles.

The second song under this heading, "You Don't Own Me" by Lesley Gore (1964) also communicates a message that does not reflect the sexist categories

outlined in this chapter. Albeit once again this song is not as strong in its message as it could be, it nevertheless was progressive:

You don't own me
I'm not just one of your many toys
you don't own me
don't say I can't go with other boys

And don't tell me what to do
don't tell me what to say
and please, when I go out with you
don't put me on display

Cause you don't own me
don't try to change me in any way
you don't own me
don't tie me down cause I'll never stay

I don't tell you what to say
I don't tell you what to do
so just let me be myself
that's all I ask of you

I'm young, and I love to be young
I'm free, and I love to be free
to live my life the way I want
to say and do whatever I please...

This song, "You Don't Own Me" by Lesley Gore was rated number 375 in CKLW's 1992 summer countdown; did not place at all in their 1993 summer countdown (this fact is highly significant since the song is out of 500); and again, did not place in WOMC's 1993-94 countdown. It is recognized as an oldie, but seemingly does not enjoy the same popularity as her preceding 'hits.'²³

Gore asserts herself (although too politely) in many different ways. She

²³ Her songs "It's My Party" and Judy's Turn To Cry" however, *were* rated in the countdowns. "Judy's Turn To Cry" was rated number 405 in CKLW's 1992 summer countdown; "It's My Party" was rated number 66 in their 1993 summer countdown; and WOMC's 1992-93 countdown rated "It's My Party" number 52. The fact that the more stereotypical songs rated better than her one contradictory song is remarkable, but unfortunately, not at all surprising.

states that she had no desire to be his possession ("...you don't own me.."); asks that she not be used as his appendage ("...don't put me on display.."); enjoys her independence ("...I love to be free..."); challenges her predetermined role ("...don't tie me down cause I'll never stay..."); is aware that it is her right to see anyone she pleases ("...don't say I can't go with other boys..."); and asks that he permit her to be who she is ("...just let me be myself..."). For the time period, this was most certainly a progressive song. It made a valiant effort to reflect a more independent woman, rather than the stereotypical female. The one unfortunate weakness of Gore's song however, is the fact that she is too pleading. Rather than demanding sexual equality, Gore resorts to a more submissive position by asking politely. Instead of threatening to leave if her requests are not met, she simply continues requesting. This song is part assertive, part submissive, but overall, is a good step.

The final song to be analyzed in this chapter is not in the least bit submissive. It was also **not** included in the sample gathered from CKLW, since it was intentionally excluded; a point to be elaborated later. This song blatantly refutes all 6 sexist categories, while it eloquently expresses the thoughts and feelings of many feminists. Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman" (1972) is an important representation of the Women's Movement. In it, Reddy demands unconditional sexual equality, and like many feminists, is willing to keep the feminist fire burning until her goals have been achieved. Her song was wildly popular with many women, and was often heralded as a feminist anthem at liberation protests. (Gaar, 1992:123). "I Am Woman" is a patriarchal nightmare.

I am woman, hear me roar
in numbers too big to ignore
and I know too much to go back and pretend

Cause I've heard it all before
 when I've been down there on the floor
 no one's ever gonna keep me down again

Yes, I am wise (CHORUS)
 but it's wisdom born of pain
 yes, I've paid the price
 but look how much I've gained
 if I have to, I can do anything
 I am strong (STRONG)
 I am invincible (INVINCIBLE)
 I am woman

You can bend but never break me
 cause it only serves to make me
 more determined to achieve my final goal

And I come back even stronger
 not a novice any longer
 cause you deepen the conviction in my soul
 (chorus)

I am woman, watch me grow
 see me standing toe to toe
 as I spread my lovin' arms across the land

But I'm still an embryo
 with a long, long way to go
 until I make my brother understand
 (repeat chorus...)

This song eloquently speaks for itself. It portrays a woman who is proud of her feminist beliefs, and communicates a necessary message to its audience; that sexual equality should not have to be fought for, but until it is achieved, women like Helen Reddy will continue to fight. The song asserts that women are not inferior, and the more the patriarchy tries to subordinate them, the more they will fight. Reddy understands that the progress women have made is limited, but that too much has been gained by women to ever go back. This song contradicts the sexist categories and the patriarchy itself, and serves as hope for all women.

When Reddy released her song in 1972, it was eventually a hit. It was

charted a total of 22 weeks, was charted in the Top 40 for 14 weeks; was charted in the Top 10 for 8 weeks, and received RIAA certified gold record standing (a million seller). (Whitburn, 1988:21) Although today it falls under the heading of "Golden Oldie" because of the time frame within which it was created, it nevertheless receives minimal airplay; a point to be further elaborated in the conclusion of this paper. Despite its past popularity with listeners, this song did not rank in CKLW's 1992 Top 500 countdown *or* its 1993 Top 500 summer countdown, nor did it rank in WOMC's 1992-93 Top 104 countdown. The reason for this was simple. CKLW and other radio stations refused to play it.

CHAPTER FOUR

There were simply too many cooks - from brand names to mere media blips - who helped make the backlash more palatable for public consumption. (Faludi, 1991:283)

The patriarchal "cooks" within the music industry were (and still are today, although perhaps to a slightly lesser extent) the songwriters, the producers, the managers, the owners, and of course, the disc jockeys. Today, these "cooks" have made the Backlash more successful by continuing to play music which reflects more outdated values; songs which as we have seen, have been selected for their patriarchally mainstream themes.

An era of music which has proven itself sexist is instead heralded as "Golden" or "classic," helping to make the blatant sexism palatable. By devoting airwaves, special countdowns and nostalgic musical products to this era of music, the industry and the system which frames it have managed to communicate messages they would otherwise hesitate to openly communicate. This "Golden" era is "golden" to the patriarchy. It defines the perfect woman within specified stereotypical standards, and offers her up as the model woman. Any deviation from this valuable female norm is virtually nonexistent.

...Moral Majority's Reverend Jerry Falwell issued the same advisory. "The Equal Rights Amendment strikes at the foundation of our entire social structure," he concluded in *Listen, America!*, a treatise that devotes page after page to the devastation wreaked by the women's movement. The feminists had launched a "satanic attack on the home," Falwell said. And his top priority was crushing these women, starting with the execution of the ERA. "With all my heart," he vowed, "I want to bury the Equal Rights Amendment once and for all in a deep, dark grave." (Faludi, 1991:232)

The thought of sexual equality between women and men threatens the patriarchy which governs society. If such an aberration were to materialize, then society would experience a drastic reshuffling of values and practices. By hailing an era

of music (i.e. referring to it as "Golden" and "classic") that is riddled with sexist and outright misogynistic messages, the reigning ideology stands a chance.

From the outset, the intention of this study has been to determine whether, and to what extent, the popular songs of the Golden Oldie era are sexist in some form or other. With this in mind, a total of 125 songs underwent semiotic analysis. Out of that total, 118 or 94% fell into one or more of the sexist categories outlined in chapter one. Although this was thought to be the case at the outset, this nevertheless was indeed an unsettling result. To examine a comparatively small but still 'popular' portion of songs from three decades of music only to find that almost all of them are sexist, is unfortunate, albeit informative.

Only seven of the songs studied out of the 125 fell outside the categories. By the very nature of their lyrics, these songs depicted scenarios which did not conform to the dominant patriarchal ideology. The only contradictory, or counter hegemonic songs were the three mentioned at the end of the third chapter, (moving from the least contradictory to the most:) performed by Aretha Franklin, Lesley Gore, and Helen Reddy; while the other four songs which fell outside the categories were actually performed by men. These four songs included Paul Anka's aforementioned "Diana" from 1957 (where the lyrical male is smitten with an 'older' woman), "Spiders And Snakes" by Jim Stafford from 1974 (which portrays the young woman as confident and worldly and the young man as an insecure bumbling fool), "Build Me Up Buttercup" by The Foundations from 1969 (where the male lead singer pleads with the lyrical woman not to break his heart "again"), and finally, "Ain't Too Proud To Beg" by The Temptations from 1966

(where the man resorts to getting on his knees and begging the lyrical woman to stay with him).

The three more 'contradictory' songs mentioned above that were performed by women are especially significant for this study, especially Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman." This song, which was found to be the one and only song out of the grand total to profess feminist ideals of equality, is crucial to this study. This is for the simple reason that radio stations refused to play it, even though it was actually a very popular song, especially among women.

In December 1972, Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman" hit number 1 on the *Billboard* charts. It was, as the title of one of her later albums put it, a long hard climb, both for the song and Reddy's career. The song was Reddy's fourth single, and her first Top 10 hit, but its significance went beyond the fact that it established Reddy as a major star. Whereas previous songs such as Lesley Gore's "You Don't Own Me" and Aretha Franklin's "Respect" had addressed the issue of female independence, neither were as explicitly associated with feminism as "I Am Woman" was. The song, co-written by Reddy, [the other writer was Ray Burton] had been written as a direct response to the feminist movement of the early '70s and Reddy's own involvement in that movement. (Gaar, 1992:115)

Helen Reddy, born in 1942 in Melbourne, Australia, was wholeheartedly involved in the women's movement. This was perhaps why the song was met with resistance when it was originally released. Perhaps "I Am Woman" scared the patriarchal establishment.

"I always got a very strong reaction to the song in person, and fan mail used to mention it, which seemed a little odd because we knew we were getting no airplay whatsoever on the song," says Reddy. "But it was obvious that we were touching some sort of a nerve. So because of the resistance to airplay, I went on television. There were a lot of television variety shows in those days, and I sang 'I Am Woman' on nineteen different shows. Then women started calling up radio stations and requesting the song, so it was women who forced the airplay on it." (1992:122)

Reddy, one of the very few female performers who declared herself a feminist, was

aware that the resistance to her song stemmed from that patriarchal 'nerve.' Her song was a song of triumph and feminist inspiration, and still is today. Interestingly, this song, although it is indeed a Golden Oldie, is still meeting with fervent resistance. When calls were made in 1993 to CKLW FM in Windsor, (then a self-proclaimed "all request" Canadian oldies station), to request "I Am Woman," the request was conveniently forgotten each time, and the song was not played. During an interview with the station's music librarian, she was asked why "I Am Woman" was excluded from the station's playlist, and the response was simple: "I Am Woman" did not receive airplay because it was a "novelty" song. Other "novelty" songs which did not receive airplay were "My Ding-a-ling" by Chuck Berry because of its implied meaning; "Beep Beep" by The Playmates because it was "annoying;" and "They're Coming to Take Me Away Ha Ha" by Napoleon XIV possibly because of its irritating lyrics. "I Am Woman" does not receive airplay because the station claims that it does not play "novelty" or "reactionary" songs. Perhaps by "novelty" they refer to a passing fancy; a trend that with time will eventually go away. "I Am Woman" fell within the playlist jurisdiction of CKLW (it was a Top 10 hit, and was recorded in the 1970s) but it has been excluded.

Through centuries men have treated women heroes as invisible. They have kept women stored away, like explosives in a warehouse, priding themselves on the treasures they possess, yet afraid to unleash the power lest it tend to overpower its possessor. (Browne, 1987:1)

The refusal to acknowledge this song as a "classic" along with other songs (many of which could be referred to as "novelty" songs themselves, such as Jimmy Soul's "I Am Happy," which was his one and only hit ever) is just another example of patriarchy's attempt to silence the woman's movement. It met with resistance

in the early 70s and it is resisted today, but ignoring it will not make the issue disappear.

"I am still around," says the pop singer who hit it big in the 1970s with such songs as "I Am Woman" and "Delta Dawn." "I have had my own band and have been making my living by performing for the last 20 years." (Coburn, 1993:D{4})

Like the feminist movement, Reddy has not gone away. She even started her own company in the early 80s, called appropriately Helen Reddy Inc. (Gaar, 1992:440) Her personal success and willingness to take on the established order make her a feminist icon and a wonderful exception to the overwhelming proportion of sexist music studied for this thesis. Helen Reddy has set an example, and although male-dominated institutions such as the music industry and radio stations have chosen to stifle her contribution to an era of music, her voice is still heard. As she stated in her lyrics, resistance, if anything, should make feminists' convictions stronger. And it has.

No matter how many times women have been told to sit down and keep quiet, they have struggled to their feet. No matter how often they have heard that they would be happier in the shadows, they have continued to seek a sunnier public stage, where their performance, whatever its form or lyrics, will be acknowledged - even applauded. (Faludi, 1991:455)

Despite the overwhelming male dominance of the music industry, there have been assorted female performers who have done their part in refuting the patriarchal ideology. Well known artists such as folk singer Joan Baez ("The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down"), Blues singer and "rock and roll martyr" (Gaar, 1992:107) Janis Joplin ("Turtle Blues," "Me And Bobby McGee"), guitar-playing Joan Jett ("I Love Rock 'n' Roll"), and controversial Cyndi Lauper, who was another female performer who openly characterized herself as a feminist, are but a few

female performers who have chosen to take less stereotypical approaches to performing folk or popular music. (It should be noted that Cyndi Lauper was 'controversial' for her "eclectic thrifty-shop" clothing (Oglesbee, 1987:178) and her song "She-Bop" which celebrated female sexuality in an unusual way: by using the term "Bop," a known synonym for masturbation). These women are musical icons, and each deserve feminist and airplay recognition for their perseverance and refusal to conform. They represent progress. As Joan Baez states below, the ability and opportunity to communicate meaningful messages through music is a gift:

My greatest gift, given to me by forces which confound genetics, environment, race, or ambition, is a singing voice. My second greatest gift, without which I would be an entirely different person with an entirely different story to tell, is a desire to share that voice, and the bounties it has heaped upon me, with others. From that combination of gifts has developed an immeasurable wealth - a wealth of adventures, of friendships, and of plain joys. (Baez, 1987:13)

Joan Baez, a politically active folk singer who took her performances quite seriously, knew the power of her own voice and was determined to use it. She refuted the stereotypical 'girlish' persona dictated by the music industry in the oldie era by placing great social importance on her music, and by not simply conforming to female artists' appearance standards. She was considered an "unglamorous" performer because her image did not conform with "the make-up, wigs, and gowns adopted by most female singers at the time." (Gaar, 1992:92) Her music most often communicated anti-war messages, a theme which is anti-patriarchal in itself. Today, Oldies stations frequently air her song "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" (1971), and although she chose to tell the story by singing it herself, it is significant that in this particular song, she sings it as

though she were male:

Virgil Cane is my name
and I drove on the Danville train
till so much calvary came
and tore up the tracks again

...Back with my wife in Tennessee
and one day she said to me
"Virgil, quick come see
there goes the Robert E. Lee..."

Now I don't mind, I'm choppin' wood
and I don't care if the money's no good
just take what you need and leave the rest
but they should never have taken the very best

Like my father before me
I'm a workin' man
and like my brother before me
I took a rebel stand

Well he was just 18, proud and brave
but a Yankee laid him in his grave
I swear by the blood below my feet
you can't raise the Cane back up when it's in the field

One interpretation of this song is that Baez flies in the face of convention by singing it in a man's voice. The other possible interpretation is that the stations would not play the song as much had she delivered the message from a woman's viewpoint. This song protested the war between the North and South, suggesting that it claimed too many young lives; so it is in fact progressive in the sense that it is anti-war. It is interesting that this is her most frequently aired song, even though there is a wealth of her material from which to choose.

The woman hero is "an image of the antithesis," whose gender is significant, because she threatens masculine authority and the system it supports, not because she is a she and he is a he, but "because of the positions assigned to men and women in every society our culture has devised." She "forbids the presumption that women are innately selfless, weak, or passive." (Oglesbee, 1987:160)

It is perhaps for this reason (perception as the antithesis) that when Golden Oldies are mentioned, groups such as The Beach Boys, The Supremes, or Elvis Presley are recalled more so than Joan Baez or Helen Reddy. It is quite ironic that the 60s and 70s, which are seen by many as being 'revolutionary,' are decades defined by tradition when it comes to their music. During the 60s and 70s, society witnessed the beginnings of the students' movement, the gay movement, Black power, consciousness raising groups, meditation or examination of Eastern thought and the women's movement. It is too coincidental that musically, this 'progressive' era is being defined with sexist texts. This suggests that there is more to this music than meets the eye; it has more of the appearance of a Backlash than it does a marketing strategy.

The patriarchal agenda, via the make-up of the industry itself, the writers, producers, and disc jockeys has dictated who would fill the most prominent positions within this era. This is why the mainstream songs fill the oldie airwaves more than the alternative ones. More progressive songs of the Golden Oldie era include anti-war songs such as: "War" by Edwin Starr in 1970; "Universal Soldier" by Donovan in 1965; "We Gotta Get Outta This Place" by the Animals in 1965; "Abraham, Martin & John" by Dion in 1968; "Unknown Soldier" by The Doors in 1968, and "Eve of Destruction" by Barry McGuire in 1965 (which was banned from most mainstream radio stations because of its anti-U.S.-policy message, but was nevertheless eventually a number one hit with a cult following). Peace-songs included: "Give Peace A Chance" by Plastic Ono Band in 1969; and "Get Together" by the Youngbloods in 1969. Pro-environment songs included "Big Yellow Taxi" by Joni Mitchell (a Canadian song) in 1974; "Hand Me Down World" by the

Canadian group The Guess Who in 1969; "In the Year 2525" by Zager & Evans in 1969 (a one-hit wonder that went to number one) and "Mercy, Mercy Me (The Ecology Song)" by Marvin Gaye in 1971. Anti-establishment songs included "Signs" by the Canadian group Five-Man Electrical Band in 1971, and "Fortunate Son" by Creedence Clearwater Revival in 1969 (also an anti-war song). In the 70s, there was also a song titled "Show Us the Length," sung by the Canadian group Stringband with Bob Bosselin and Marie Lynn Hammond. The lyrics of this song asked sarcastically: "are you hung like a beaver or hung like a bear?" and it ridiculed the female beauty pageant by pointing out how uncomfortable men would be if thrust into a similar situation. This song is not aired over the radio. There was also an anti-capitalism song, titled "16 tons" by Tennessee Ernie Ford in 1955 which described a man who owed his "soul to the company store [because] you lift 16 tons and whaddaya get? Another day older and deeper in debt." Although most of these songs are not completely excluded from this musical regeneration, in comparison to the frequency with which the mainstream songs are aired, they are somewhat marginalized. The Golden Oldie era has been redefined. When memory serves, it serves the patriarchy.

This idea comes back to the notion of 'invented' or 'selected' traditions. If one were to apply these selected traditions to this situation, one could argue that this whole "Golden" era has been constructed by defining and redefining what was actually included within the musical era. The refusal of stations to air Reddy's "I Am Woman" also supports this argument. The overall theme of the era can be controlled simply by withholding progressive songs. This suggests that there has been a social construction of reality; that the "Golden Oldies" have been

deliberately selected for their traditional messages. According to Gaye Tuchman in her text Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality, everyday news reproduces itself as a historical given, in so far as it "not only defines and redefines, constitutes and reconstitutes social meanings; it also defines and redefines, constitutes and reconstitutes ways of doing things - existing processes in existing institutions." (1978:196) This can also be applied to this music. Indeed, it can be constructed and/or reconstructed according to existing institutions, which in this case are patriarchal. The construction of this musical era may be viewed by some as merely a marketing, profit-oriented exercise. But then why exclude the popular songs such as "I Am Woman" and the rest? Are these not profitable? The only reasonable explanation seems to be the Backlash and the role of the CP. The male dominance of the industry and the patriarchal themes disseminated via these songs point to the unsettling possibility that this is yet another loyal contributor to the Backlash against feminism. The goal of any system is to perpetuate itself; the patriarchy is no different.

This thesis is not suggesting that audience members are cultural or passive dupes. Indeed, there is some merit to be found in approaches such as British Cultural Studies, which proposes that textual meanings are somewhat polysemic; that is, that any text (e.g. language) "can mean different things to different readers." (Turner, 1990:36) This approach maintains that ethnographies, histories and sociologies play a significant role in an audience member's reading of a text, and that readings could be ambiguous because of such contributing factors. This cannot be denied; it could also be argued that some of these songs may mean different things to different listeners. Obviously a feminist will interpret

the text differently than a misogynist.

The view that media are actually a site of contestation which audience members can read differently, thereby becoming empowered, is not being overlooked here. Cultural Studies theorists may argue that there is a battle over content and meaning within several of the songs under different categories, thereby deeming these texts polysemic. Two possible examples of 'polysemic' texts here could be the song "Cat's In The Cradle" by Harry Chapin from 1974 (under the woman as voiceless category) and the song "She's A Lady" by Tom Jones from 1971 (a 'super' song). Some may argue that "Cat's In The Cradle" is just a story of a father-son relationship; that it provides for its listeners the lesson that a parent should spend more time with his/her child than with his/her job, or face the negative consequences. From this perspective it's not a song about women at all, and it shouldn't be. From another perspective, however, the way the song excludes the mother is both significant and representative. It disregards her contribution to this child's upbringing. The song implies that a father will have a greater impact on his son simply because he is the father, and this theme continues right to the end of the song when the "son" has his own children with another non-existent woman.

The Cultural Studies theorist may also argue that "She's A Lady" by Tom Jones is just a song that portrays a man smitten with the woman in his life; that he is proud of her and is desperately in love. It could also be seen as complimentary in that she is described as a real "lady." A closer reading however, indicates that he finds this woman attractive simply because she is willing to fulfil her roles within patriarchal society. Being admired because she "always knows

her place," is not a compliment. This can be interpreted as the patriarchal definition of a "lady."

From a socialist feminist perspective, it is not apparent from the lyrics discussed above how some of the content could be interpreted differently. The music of the Supremes never seems to suggest that a woman could be independent; Gary Puckett & The Union Gap had no interest in the self-assured (or older) 'woman,' and The Rolling Stones summed up what they thought of women when they referred to one as a "squirmy dog." The Cultural Studies perspective seems to view language and media as "contested terrain;" however, this case study of Golden Oldie lyrics appears to demonstrate that there is "no contest." The evidence herein provides support for a socialist feminist perspective. Women will not gain unconditional sexual equality as long as these pervasive, overwhelmingly negative attitudes toward women exist.

This music is NOT regarded as a problem within society. Listeners appear to be more willing to dance to this music than they are to listen to the words, and regardless of personal interpretations, these must be largely negative. Yes, there are somewhat different interpretations, and yes, readings of resistance are possible. It is the limited potential for these readings within the established order that is disconcerting.

As discussed in chapter two, dominant ideologies have the power to frame a person's understanding of phenomena. This is an undeniable fact of life, unless of course someone has been living in a remote cave since birth. Socialization revolves around ideologies and these in turn will ultimately affect attitudes. If these dominant ideologies are patriarchal, then it is altogether likely that the

attitudes created or influenced by them will be as well. This is where a critical consciousness comes into play.

Writing this thesis depended on the capability for critical thinking. This suggests, therefore, that critical thinking is as plausible as it is necessary. For feminists, critical thinking helps serve the cause, especially in the trying and discouraging times of a backlash against feminism. Critical thinking is crucial when encountering forms of mass media, since "the media's role as backlash collaborator and publicist is a familiar one in American [and Canadian] history." (Faludi, 1991:78) Popular music has proven to be a highly useful vehicle for the dissemination of patriarchal ideology, because of its ubiquitous quality: it's everywhere. People can sing along with the dominant ideology whether or not they are even aware of it, and when the current era of music is not serving the system as well as it could, then it is necessary to re-popularize, reinvent, and salute an older era.

The utility of "Golden Oldie" music is obvious under a socialist feminist analysis. It venerates and congratulates the lyrical woman who complies with patriarchal and traditional norms. She falls victim to Marx's commodity fetishism; her preoccupation with her appearance helps to fulfil her guise as man's appendage; she is emotionally weak and economically dependent because of her biology; she is destined to hold predetermined places within a male-ruled society; she is regarded as a lesser creature because of the imposed sexual double standard; and finally, she is admired for realizing that silence is ladylike. Her protests, needs, abilities and contributions are of no interest to the established order; all that matters is that she goes along with the system rather than

challenging it. The upshot of this music is simply that women are an 'ode' to men.

The fact that society was different when these songs were recorded is, in this case, not the point. Their prevalence in contemporary society is. One cannot simply brush off their current presence by reasoning that the 50s, 60s and 70s were different in the traditional sense; 'traditional' referring to, for example, women simply accepting their predetermined places. Society's progress must be questioned when such a blatantly sexist form of popular culture holds such a prestigious or "classic" position in society. Looking back at the good old days of yesteryear should not include a constant reiteration of women's forced subjugation. If 118 out of the 125 songs that were studied promote women's oppression in some form or another, then the present day worth of the entire musical era should be questioned.

When questioning the audience's perception of the actual lyrics, the question was put to CLKW's music librarian (September 21, 1993) whether or not the station had ever heard public outcry over a song it aired. Interestingly, the answer was yes, years ago; and after repeated complaints, the song was taken off the air for good. The song, however, did not boast of misogynist tendencies or women's oppression under the dominant ideology. Instead, the song was called "Indian Giver," sung by the 1910 Fruitgum Co., from 1969, (a possible "novelty song?") and it quite evidently cast an unfavourable light on the indigenous peoples of our nation. The radio station received some calls after airing this particular song a few times; calls which strongly suggested that the lyrics had racist undertones against indigenous peoples. Not wanting to offend its Native Canadian listeners, (or from a critical viewpoint, perhaps to avoid controversy), CLKW took

the song off its official playlist and has not aired it since.

It is quite significant that this song brought a public response, while songs which are demeaning to women evidently do not. The patriarchal ideologies which frame society for us have numbed too many people in their perception of what is and is not appropriate. A song which negatively portrays native peoples appropriately gets wiped off of the air, whereas a song that calls a woman "a squirmy dog" (Stones, "Under my Thumb") is kept on the playlist. Critical readings are out there, and the demand that "Indian Giver" be taken off the air proves it. Society has to be predisposed to recognize the fact that these readings are needed for all messages.

All of these men understood the profound force that an American [or Canadian] women's movement could exert if it got half a chance. It was women, tragically, who were still in the dark. (Faludi, 1991:459)

Once women (and men) realize that it is in their power to question and challenge patriarchal authority, there will be more progress by women as a sexual class. Sexual equality will never exist as long as the powers that be insist on disseminating negative messages about women.

Through the research in this thesis, it was discovered that a highly prevalent form of popular culture was, and still is, blatantly and inherently sexist. In addition to this, there was another finding; one which was not addressed in the basic assumptions. Out of 125 songs from the Golden Oldie era, 125 conformed to a strict heterosexual bias. This totals 100% and moreover, is an interesting idea theoretically since compulsory heterosexuality also adheres to the dominant ideologies of society. Such heterosexual biases comply with the patriarchy as well, in so far as they deem that men are 'naturally' only attracted to women.

Heterosexuality is another driving force for the patriarchy. Since men are to hold higher standings than women within the sexual ordering of society, accounting for homosexual relationships is unthinkable.

The findings of this study illustrate the need for our society to use its ability for critical thinking as a tool, and to demand change. Until then, sexist songs such as those outlined in this thesis will continue to prolong the patriarchy. Perhaps one of the things women as a sexual class need is a word which encompasses all the forces that work to subjugate them. 'Apartheid' refers to much more than racial prejudices. It includes economic discrimination as well as racial segregation, and although women are indeed **not** segregated to the extent that Black South Africans have been, a term that includes economic as well as social factors would be consistent with socialist feminist theory as well as women's subordination.

To help alleviate women's oppression in society, serious change must take place. To begin, the worst examples, the songs with the most offensive lyrics, should all be banned from the airwaves. If a station will remove a song about Native Canadians because of its offensive potential, then surely this is possible. If a song offends a number of listeners, radio stations should *voluntarily* pull it from their playlists. This, however, will never be done unless listeners make the radio station aware of what they find objectionable.

If this action does not work, and the station refuses to remove an offensive song, then more drastic measures can be undertaken. If necessary, listeners can boycott advertisers of the station in question, or boycott the station itself directly. The threat of this, even by a small group of listeners, would doubtless have an

effect. Interestingly, if all the sexist material were to be removed from these radio stations, the leftover playlist would indeed be limited. This would in turn force the station to actually restructure its original make-up; something which a socialist feminist analysis supports in the first place. Used record stores and personal music collections will always be around for the die-hard Golden Oldie fan, or the frustrated anti-feminist. Thus, rather than simply imposing hiring restrictions on the music industry so 'token' women will be hired to fill previously male-occupied positions, a restructuring of the entire system is necessary. Although slowing down the circulation of these sexist songs will be beneficial for women's liberation, the problem does not end with restrictions on the lyrics. For women to achieve unconditional sexual equality, a responsible government with women in large numbers and positions of power is needed in society, along with wholesale economic changes and social restructuring. Women's liberation will be achieved when the patriarchy which governs society is dismantled, and the only role fulfilled by women is whatever they themselves wish it to be.

There is much potential future research related to this subject. First, these texts could be analyzed with another approach, within a different theoretical framework. Julia Penelope's text Speaking Freely: Unlearning The Lies of the Father's Tongues (1990) could provide a new and interesting perspective for examining these songs. Such feminist theories of communication and language provide new ways of examining language and its meanings, by having a stronger focus on language itself.

A second possibility for future research deals with hegemony. This thesis discussed the construction of the hegemonic female image by a particular era of

popular music. The construction of the stereotypical male via popular culture is yet another research possibility. Women were depicted in a negatively stereotypical fashion; which in turn often placed the men in stereotypical positions as well (i.e. as the 'breadwinner'). The construction of hegemonic masculinity is also implicit and explicit in many of these songs, and this approach would provide researchers with new questions for study.

APPENDIX A
GOLDEN OLDIES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CATEGORIES
TOTAL NUMBER OF SONGS STUDIED: 125

WOMAN AS COMMODITY/POSSESSION (23)

"Rag Doll"- 4 Seasons (1964)
"No Sugar Tonite"- The Guess Who (1970)
"My Little Deuce Coupe"- The Beach Boys (1966)
"Light My Fire"- Jose Feliciano (1968)
"Lay Lady Lay"- Bob Dylan (1969)
"Cherish"- The Association (1966)
"Hanky Panky"- Tommy Jones & The Shondelles (1966)
"It's Now Or Never"- Elvis Presley (1960)
"Cherry Hill Park"- Billy Joe Royal (1969)
"Take Good Care Of My Baby"- Bobby Vee (1961)
"Good Luck Charm"- Elvis Presley (1962)
"Are You Lonesome Tonight?"- Elvis Presley (1960)
"Baby Don't Get Hooked On Me"- Mac Davis (1972)
"Will You Love Me Tomorrow"- The Shirelles (1961)
"A Hundred Pounds Of Clay"- Gene McDaniels (1961)
"Tonight's The Night"- Rod Stewart (1976)
"Kansas City"- Wilbert Harrison (1959)
"My Girl"- The Temptations (1965)
"Gimmie Little Sign"- Brenton Wood (1967)
"Brown Sugar"- Rolling Stones (1971)
"You Belong To Me"- The Duprees (1962)
"Baby I'm Yours"- Barbara Lewis (1965)
"Lady Willpower"- Gary Puckett & The Union Gap (1968)

WOMAN AS APPENDAGE OF MAN (20)

"She's Just My Style"- Gary Lewis & The Playboys (1966)
"I'm A Believer"- The Monkees (1966)
"Venus In Blue Jeans"- Jimmy Clanton (1962)
"Pretty Lady"- Lighthouse (1973)
"Brown-Eyed Girl"- Van Morrison (1967)
"This Girl Is A Woman Now"- Gary Puckett & The Union Gap (1969)
"Pretty Girls"- Melissa Manchester (1981)
"Only Sixteen"- Sam Cooke (1959)
"Young Girl"- Gary Puckett & The Union Gap (1968)
"Oh, Pretty Woman"- Roy Orbison (1964)
"You're 16"- Ringo Starr (1974)
"Go Away Little Girl"- Steve Lawrence (1963)
"California Girls"- Beach Boys (1965)
"Calendar Girl"- Neil Sedaka (1961)
"Come Back When You Grow Up"- Bobby Vee (1967)
"The Girl From Ipanema"- Stan Getz & Astrud Gilberto (1964)
"Girl, You'll Be A Woman Soon"- Neil Diamond (1967)
"Do Wah Diddy Diddy"- Manfred Mann (1964)
"Wishin' And Hopin'"- Dusty Springfield (1964)

WOMAN AS DEPENDENT (EMOTIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY) (23)

"That'll Be The Day"- The Crickets (1957)
"To Know Him, Is To Love Him"- Teddy Bears (1958)
"Where Did Our Love Go?"- The Supremes (1964)
"Undun"- The Guess Who (1969)
"Back In My Arms Again"- The Supremes (1965)
"You Keep Me Hanging On"- The Supremes (1966)
"Johnny Angel"- Shelley Fabares (1962)
"Midnight Mary"- Joey Powers (1963)
"Baby It's You"- Smith (1969)
"Please Mr. Postman"- The Marvelettes (1961)
"You Don't Have To Say You Love Me"- Dusty Springfield (1966)
"My World Is Empty"- The Supremes (1966)
"Walk On By"- Dionne Warwick (1964)
"My Boyfriend's Back"- The Angels (1963)
"Baby Love"- The Supremes (1964)
"Rescue Me"- Fontella Bass (1965)
"Natural Woman"- Aretha Franklin (1967)
"Judy's Turn To Cry"- Lesley Gore (1963)
"Jimmy Mack"- Martha & The Vandellas (1967)
"It's My Party"- Lesley Gore (1963)
"Come See About Me"- The Supremes (1964)
"You Belong To Me"- Carly Simon (1978)
"Red Rubber Ball"- Cyrkle (1966)

WOMAN AS HAVING A PREDETERMINED PLACE IN SOCIETY (18)

"Having My Baby"- Paul Anka (1974)
"If You Wanna Be Happy"- Jimmy Soul (1963)
"Georgy Girl"- The Seekers (1967)
"Happy Together"- The Turtles (1967)
"Brandy (You're A Fine Girl)"- Looking Glass (1972)
"Have I The Right"- Honeycombs (1964)
"To Sir With Love"- Lulu (1967)
"I Will Follow Him"- Little Peggy March (1963)
"Soldier Boy"- The Shirelles (1962)
"Bobby's Girl"- Marcie Blane (1962)
"If I Were A Carpenter"- Bobby Darin (1966)
"Wild One"- Bobby Rydell (1960)
"It's A Man's Man's Man's World"- James Brown (1966)
"Time Is On My Side"- The Rolling Stones (1964)
"Rainy Night In Georgia"- Brook Benton (1970)
"Tell Him"- The Exciters (1963)
"My Guy"- Mary Wells (1964)
"One Fine Day"- The Chiffons (1963)

WOMAN AS VICTIMIZED BY THE SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD (29)

"Runaround Sue"- Dion & The Belmonts (1961)
"Travellin' Man"- Ricky Nelson (1961)
"I Get Around"- The Beach Boys (1964)
"The Wanderer"- Dion & The Belmonts (1962)

"Hey Joe"- The Leaves (1966)
 "Come A Little Bit Closer"- Jay & The Americans (1964)
 "Backfield In Motion"- Mel & Tim (1969)
 "Devil In Disguise"- Elvis Presley (1963)
 "Delilah"- Tom Jones (1968)
 "Poison Ivy"- The Coasters (1959)
 "Devil With The Blue Dress On & Good Golly Miss Molly"- Mitch Ryder & Detroit
 Wheels (1966)
 "Lightnin' Strikes"- Lou Christie (1966)
 "Mellow Yellow"- Donovan (1966)
 "Mustang Sally"- Wilson Pickett (1966)
 "A Lover's Question"- Clyde McPhatter (1959)
 "Witchy Woman"- Eagles (1972)
 "Surf City"- Jan & Dean (1963)
 "Satisfaction"- The Rolling Stones (1965)
 "Did You Ever Have To Make Up Your Mind?"- Lovin' Spoonful (1966)
 "Little Sister"- Elvis Presley (1961)
 "Suspicious Minds"- Elvis Presley (1969)
 "96 Tears"- ? & The Mysterians (1966)
 "Tracks of My Tears"- Johnny Rivers (1967)
 "Signed, Sealed, Delivered I'm Yours"- Stevie Wonder (1970)
 "Needles & Pins"- The Searchers (1964)
 "When Will I Be Loved?"- Everly Brothers (1960)
 "I Wish It Would Rain"- The Temptations (1968)
 "Tears On My Pillow"- Little Anthony & The Imperials (1958)
 "This Diamond Ring"- Gary Lewis & The Playboys (1965)

WOMAN WITHOUT VOICE (3)

"The Wonder of You"- Elvis Presley (1970)
 "Patches"- Clarence Carter (1970)
 "Cat's In The Cradle"- Harry Chapin (1974)

OUTSIDE THE 6 CATEGORIES (4)

"Diana"- Paul Anka (1957)
 "Spiders And Snakes"- Jim Stafford (1974)
 "Build Me Up Buttercup"- The Foundations (1969)
 "Ain't Too Proud to Beg"- The Temptations (1966)

CONTRADICTIONS (3)

"Respect"- Aretha Franklin (1967)
 "You Don't Own Me"- Lesley Gore (1964)
 "I Am Woman"- Helen Reddy (1972)

SUPER SONGS (2)

"She's A Lady"- Tom Jones (1971)
 "Under My Thumb"- Rolling Stones (1966)

APPENDIX B

APPLICATION OF METHODOLOGY

CATEGORY 1: WOMAN AS COMMODITY

In order for a song to fall under this heading, the lyrical woman had to have been either 'claimed' by a man, or used in some fashion (e.g. as a sex object). For this category, keywords were used in order to determine whether or not the song belonged. The main keywords used here were "mine," sung by a man; "yours," sung by a woman, or "belong" sung by either in reference to the woman "belonging" to the man. The lyrical woman whose utility revolved around sex was also categorized here, usually if during the course of the song the lyrical man took sex for granted.

An example of a song which fell under this category was "Gimmie Little Sign" by Brenton Wood from 1967. Note that he is claiming ownership with the word "mine" as well as taking sex for granted (words in question are in bold):

If you do want me
gimmie little sugar
if you don't want me
don't lead me on girl

...Just gimmie some kind of sign girl
to show me that you're **mine** girl...

Wood claims ownership over this woman with the keyword "mine" and requires sex from her with "gimmie little sugar." This woman is a commodity to this man, and the keyword and sexual implications support this. Other phrases such as "my baby does the hanky panky" suggest that the woman is a mere sex object; key phrases such as these had implicit sexual meaning.

CATEGORY 2: WOMAN AS AN APPENDAGE OF MAN

For this category, the song had to revolve around at least one of two themes: 1) female physical attractiveness or 2) female eternal youth. Alone or together, these themes often suggested that the 'attractive' woman could actually complement the man's appearance, thus bolstering his societal status. Songs such as "Oh, Pretty Woman" by Roy Orbison from 1964 and "Young Girl" by Gary Puckett & the Union Gap from 1968 fell into this category because they described the irresistibility of women who had one or both of these 'beautiful' qualities. Any song which described female attractiveness in terms of physical beauty or youthful qualities was categorized here. Keywords included "pretty," "beautiful," "cute," or attention to specific physical attributes such as the face, hair, legs, etc. It could also be from more general comments such as "she looks good," or less overt, more implied admiration of attributes such as "she's just my style." Keywords for the value of youth included "girl," "little girl," "innocence," and more implied references such as "my love for you is way out of line," referring to the taboo of sex with the young.

CATEGORY 3: WOMAN AS DEPENDENT (EMOTIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY)

For a song to fall under this heading it had to depict the lyrical woman as unable to take care of herself emotionally or economically without the presence of a man. Any songs sung by women which depicted herself or another woman as 'lost' or 'unable to go on' because of a break up were included here, as were those songs which depicted the woman being supported by a man financially. The two themes that were used as keys here for the semiotic analysis were thus emotional dependence as suggested in "My World is Empty" by the Supremes from 1966; or economic dependence as suggested in "Midnight Mary" by Joey Powers from 1963, where he "just got a job at the railroad" to support "Mary." In either case, the lyrical woman needs the man to care for her. Keywords included "tears," "cried," "crying," "need," "rescue," or phrases sung by women such as "I need your strength to go on."

CATEGORY 4: WOMAN AS HAVING A PREDETERMINED PLACE IN SOCIETY

Any song which suggested that the most desirable woman was one who fulfilled traditional positions in society fell under this category. The 'positions' that were searched for included "mother," "wife," "consumer," "cook," "marry" or simply faithfully by her "guy" as a means of "support." These descriptive words were also used as keywords during the course of the semiotic analysis. In all cases, the patriarchally predetermined positions were of a domestic nature, and the lyrical woman never questioned them.

CATEGORY 5: WOMAN AS VICTIMIZED BY THE SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD

Two themes had to be apparent in a song in order for it to belong to this category: 1) the sexually liberated male who was accepted, or 2) the sexually liberated female who was not accepted. "The Wanderer" by Dion & The Belmonts from 1962 fell under this category because it portrayed a boastful man who "wandered" from town to town in order to lengthen his list of sexual conquests; whereas "Runaround Sue," ironically performed by the same group in 1961 also fell under this heading because it described a sexually liberated woman as a "runaround." The meanings were implicit in these songs. The man was a hero of sorts for his behaviour, whereas the woman who practiced sexual prowess was a "runaround" or, "slut" by today's standards. Keywords for this category included "wanderer," "travellin'," and "roam" (etc.) for the lyrical man; and "devil," "Mustang," "cheat," and/or "messin'" (etc.) for the lyrical woman.

CATEGORY 6: WOMAN AS VOICELESS

To fall under this category, a song had to ignore the voice or presence of a woman who was obviously there. The song had to describe a scenario in which the woman's presence was overlooked, or a scenario in which the woman's voice was completely ignored or stifled, thus deeming her an irrelevant creature. "Patches" by Clarence Carter from 1970 fell under this heading not only because the father completely overlooked the mother's capabilities to care for her own family, but also because when her voice was included in the song, it was so

pathetically weak that it was inconsequential to the entire situation. During the semiotic analysis, the lyrical woman had to be ignored or deliberately not heard for the song to fall under this heading.

"SUPER" SONGS

To fall under this category, a song had to have all of the lyrical characteristics described above. It had to include the keywords and themes from the previous six categories in order to belong to this one.

OUTSIDE THE 6 CATEGORIES

If a song in the sample did not have any of the characteristics described above, then it was accounted for outside all of the categories. It had to depict an entirely different scenario, such as the lyrical man being completely emotionally dependent on the lyrical woman.

CONTRADICTIONS

If a song actually refuted one or more of the categories, then it was deemed as 'progressive,' and was placed here. The song had to go against the patriarchal grain by depicting a self assured woman who asked for or demanded respect from a man (or men). The song's progressive nature could be weaker or stronger. This category included those songs where the woman 'politely' asked to be treated better, as in "You Don't Own me" by Lesley Gore from 1964, or the woman could strongly 'demand' respect and change, as in "I Am Woman" by Helen Reddy from 1972.

APPENDIX C

CKLN-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG #500	SHAKE ME, SHAKE ME	FOUR TOPS
SONG #499	HOTEL CALIFORNIA	EAGLES
SONG #498	SIX O'CLOCK	LOVIN' SPOONFUL
SONG #497	LOVE IS BLUE (I'M YOUR BEST BLUE	PAUL HUNTER
SONG #496	ACROSS THE STREET	LENNY O'HENRY
SONG #495	STAYIN' ALIVE	BEZ GERS
SONG #494	TIME IS TIGHT	BOOKER T. & M.G.'S
SONG #493	A HARD DAY'S NIGHT	BEATLES
SONG #492	I CAN'T GET NEXT TO YOU	TEMPERATIONS
SONG #491	TELL LAURA I LOVE HER	RAY PETERSON
SONG #490	NEXT DOOR TO AN ANGEL	NEIL SEDAKA
SONG #489	409	BEACH BOYS
SONG #488	THE STROLL	DIAMONDS
SONG #487	SEE YOU IN SEPTEMBER	HAPPENINGS
SONG #486	GARDEN PARTY	ERIC BURDEN & THE ANIMALS
SONG #485	SEXY PILOT	ROLLING STONES
SONG #484	HONKY TONK WOMEN	ERIC CLAPTON
SONG #483	I SHOT THE SHERIFF	FOUR SEASONS
SONG #482	PAC DOLL	SUPREMACES
SONG #481	COME SEE ABOUT ME	BLUE SHEDS
SONG #480	HOOKED ON A FEELING	CHICAGO
SONG #479	MALE ME SMILE	BOB SEGER
SONG #478	EAST SIDE STORY	BOBBY DARIN
SONG #477	BACK THE KNIFE	B.J. THOMAS
SONG #476	HOOKED ON A FEELING	MIRACLES
SONG #475	MICKEY'S MONKEY	TROCKS
SONG #474	MILD THING	GORDON LIGHTFOOT
SONG #473	IF YOU COULD READ MY MIND	CASINOS
SONG #472	THEN YOU CAN TELL ME GOODBYE	TURTLES
SONG #471	HAPPY TOGETHER	PAUL REVERE & RAIDERS
SONG #470	GOOD THING	B.T.O. DEAN
SONG #469	YOU AIN'T BEEN NOTHING YET	JAN & DEAN
SONG #468	SURF CITY	GRASS ROOTS
SONG #467	MIDNIGHT CONFESSIONS	TEMPTATIONS
SONG #466	SINCE I LOST MY BABY	STEVE WONDER
SONG #465	SUBSTITUTION	BEATLES
SONG #464	YELLOW SUBMARINE	QUEEN
SONG #463	BOHEMIAN RHAPSODY	PIXIES 3
SONG #462	442 GLENWOOD AVE.	JACKIE WILSON
SONG #461	HIGHER AND HIGHER	ANDY KIM
SONG #460	BEATLES I LOVE YOU	HOLLIES
SONG #459	HE AIN'T HEAVY, HE'S MY BROTHER	BELLS
SONG #458	STAY AWAY	BEATLES
SONG #457	GET BACK	HONKERS
SONG #456	I'M A BELIEVER	BOBBY GOLDBORO
SONG #455	HONEY (I MISS YOU)	ORIGINALS
SONG #454	LOVE (I MISS YOU)	SLY & THE FAMILY STONE
SONG #453	HOT FUN IN THE SUPERMARKET	K.C. & THE SUNSHINE BAND
SONG #452	THAT'S THE WAY (I LIKE IT)	JOHNNY RIVERS
SONG #451	SUPPER RAIN	TREMELOES
SONG #450	BLENCE IS GOLDEN	

CKLN-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG #449	IN THE YEAR 2525	ZAGER & EVANS
SONG #448	HIT THE ROAD JACK	RAY CHARLES
SONG #447	I'LL BE AROUND	SPINNERS
SONG #446	SWEET PEA	TOMMY ROE
SONG #445	IT'S A MAN'S MAN'S MAN'S WORLD	JAMES BROWN
SONG #444	THANK THE LORD FOR THE NIGHT	NEIL DIAMOND
SONG #443	GALVESTON	GLEN CAMPBELL
SONG #442	WHERE EVIL GROWS	POPPY FAMILY
SONG #441	DIANA	PAUL ANKA
SONG #440	UP-UP AND AWAY	5TH DIMENSION
SONG #439	NEEDLE IN A HAYSTACK	VELVETTES
SONG #438	BE THANKFUL FOR WHAT YOU GOT	WILLIAM DEVAUGHN
SONG #437	HELP ME RHOPE	BEACH BOYS
SONG #436	YOUNG HEARTS IN FREE	CANDI STATON
SONG #435	UNDER THE BOARDWALK	DOOBIE BROTHERS
SONG #434	CHINA GROVE	ROY ORBISON
SONG #433	RUNNING SCARED	JOE COCKER
SONG #432	THE LETTER	MR. WALKER & THE ALL-STARS
SONG #431	I'M A ROADRUNNER	BOB SCAGGS
SONG #430	LIDO SHUFFLE	CROSBY STILLS NASH & YOUNG
SONG #429	WOODSTOCK	MR. ACKER BILK
SONG #428	STRANGER ON THE SHORE	BLOOD SWEAT & TEARS
SONG #427	AND WHEN I DIE	ALLMAN BROTHERS
SONG #426	TIMED OF WAITING FOR YOU	KINKS
SONG #425	MUSTANG SALLY	WILSON PICKETT
SONG #424	BARBARA ANN	BEACH BOYS
SONG #423	KUNG FU FIGHTING	CARL DOUGLAS
SONG #422	IMAGINE	JOHN LENNON
SONG #421	AQUARIUS (LET THE SUN SHINE IN	5TH DIMENSION
SONG #420	TWIST AND SHOUT	ISLET BROTHERS
SONG #419	GET READY	TEMPTATIONS
SONG #418	SUMMER BREEZE	SEALS AND CROFTS
SONG #417	SHE LOVES YOU	BEATLES
SONG #416	OPEN UP YOUR DOOR	RICHARD & THE YOUNG LIONS
SONG #415	CINNAMON GIRL	NEIL YOUNG
SONG #414	BLOWIN' IN THE WIND	PETER PAUL & MARY
SONG #413	I'M NOT IN LOVE	10CC
SONG #412	BREAKING UP IS HARD TO DO	NEIL SEDAKA
SONG #411	THE ONE WHO REALLY LOVES YOU	MARY WELLS
SONG #410	SORRY/I RAN ALL THE WAY HOME)	IMPALAS
SONG #409	BROWN SUGAR	ROLLING STONES
SONG #408	UNDUN	GUESS WHO
SONG #407	FERRY CROSS THE MERSEY	GERRY & THE PACEMAKERS
SONG #406	JUDY'S TURN TO CRY	LESLAY GORE
SONG #405	BLUEBERRY HILL	FATS DOMINO
SONG #404	ASK THE LOVELY	FOUR TOPS
SONG #403	PICK UP THE PIECES	AVERAGE WHITE BAND
SONG #402	KEEP SEARCHIN'	DEL SHANNON
SONG #401	ONLY THE LONELY	ROY ORBISON
SONG #400	SURFIN' SAFARI	BEACH BOYS
SONG #399		

CRLN-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

1398	ROSES ARE RED (MY LOVE)	BOBBY VINTON
1397	EVERYBODY PLAYS THE POOL	MAIN INGREDIENT
1396	SOLDIER BOY	SHIRLLES
1395	RIGHT ON THE TIP OF MY TONGUE	BRENDRA & THE TABULATIONS
1394	PENNY LANE	BEATLES
1393	SNOWBIRD	ANNE MURRAY
1392	LET'S LIVE FOR TODAY	GRASS ROOTS
1391	PROUD MARY	CREDENCE CLEARWATER REVIVAL
1390	CALIFORNIA NIGHTS	LESLEY GORE
1389	MONDRAFUL WORLD	SAM COOKE
1388	LADY MARBLADE	LABELLE
1387	SOMEBODY TO LOVE	JEFFERSON AIRPLANE
1386	LET'S GET IT ON	MARVIN GAYE
1385	I WILL SURVIVE	GLORIA GAYNOR
1384	WHERE DID OUR LOVE GO	SUPREMES
1383	FINGERTIPS-PT. 2	STEVE WONDER
1382	STILL THE ONE	ORLEANS
1381	HARTY PANKY	TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
1380	MAGIC CARPET RIDE	STEPPENWOLF
1379	DONNA	RITCHIE VALENS
1378	LAUGHING	GUEST WHO
1377	BROTHER LOUIE	STORIES
1376	IF I HAD A HAMMER	PETER PAUL & MARY
1375	YOU DON'T OWN ME	LESLAY GORE
1374	ABSOLUTELY RIGHT	FIVE MAN ELECTRICAL BAND
1373	I WANT YOU BACK	JACKSON 5
1372	ALL SHOOK UP	ELVIS PRESLEY
1371	OOO BABY BABY	MIRACLES
1370	DANN(GO AWAY)	FOUR SEASONS
1369	VALLERI	MONKEES
1368	GENTLE ON MY MIND	GLEN CAMPBELL
1367	WISHTIN' AND HOPIN	DUSTY SPRINGFIELD
1366	I'M SO LONESOME I COULD CRY	B.J. THOMAS
1365	A MOST TO AVOID	HERMAN'S HERMITS
1364	JUST A DREAM	JIMMY CLANTON
1363	WOULDN'T IT BE NICE	BEACH BOYS
1362	SOMEDAY WE'LL BE TOGETHER	SUPREMES
1361	LITTLE STAR	ELEGANTS
1360	PEGGY BUE	BUDDY HOLLY
1359	SPIRRING AROUND	MAIN INGREDIENT
1358	HOLIDAY	BEE GEES
1357	MY SPECIAL ANGEL	BOBBY HELMS
1356	CRY LIKE A BABY	BOX TOPS
1355	STUBORN KIND OF FELLOW	MARVIN GAYE
1354	MR. TAMBORINE MAN	BYRDS
1353	PAPA WAS A ROLLING STONE	TEMPTATIONS
1352	SIXTEEN CANDLES	CRESTS
1351	YOU KEEP ME HANGIN' ON	VANILLA FUDGE
1350	TOSSIN' AND TURNIN'	BOBBY LEWIS
1349	I'M STILL IN LOVE WITH YOU	AL GREEN
1348	SUNDOOM	GORDON LIGHTFOOT

CRLN-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG 1347	ROCKET MAN	ELTON JOHN
SONG 1346	PSYCHOTIC REACTION	COUNT FIVE
SONG 1345	WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO WIN	JR. WALKER & THE ALL-STARS
SONG 1344	LAND ON THE RUN	PAUL McCARTNEY
SONG 1343	SUPERSTAR	HEAD & TRINIDAD SINGERS, MORRAY
SONG 1342	HEART OF GOLD	NEIL YOUNG
SONG 1341	SUPPER IN THE CITY	LOVIN' SPOONFUL
SONG 1340	WHERE OR WHEN	DION & THE BELMONTS
SONG 1339	YOU'RE HAVING MY BABY	PAUL ANKA
SONG 1338	TIME IN A BOTTLE	JIM CROCE
SONG 1337	TIGHTER, TIGHTER	ALIVE & KICKING
SONG 1336	NEVER BEEN TO SPAIN I SAW YOUR	3 DOG NIGHT
SONG 1335	THE FIRST TIME EVER I SAW YOUR	ROBERTA FLACK
SONG 1334	VENUS	FRANKIE AVALON
SONG 1333	MR. BIG STUFF	JEAN KNIGHT
SONG 1332	TO SIR WITH LOVE	LEUL
SONG 1331	BABY I NEED YOUR LOVIN'	FOUR TOPS
SONG 1330	PRECIOUS AND FEM	CLIMAX
SONG 1329	WITHOUT YOU	NILSSON
SONG 1328	DENISE	RANDY & THE RAINBOWS
SONG 1327	TSOP	MTSB
SONG 1326	SINCE YOU BEEN GONE	ARETHA FRANKLIN
SONG 1325	GET READY	RARE EARTH
SONG 1324	HOLD ME, THERILL, HE KISS ME	MEL CARTER
SONG 1323	GAMES PEOPLE PLAY(THEY JUST CA	SPINNERS
SONG 1322	LET IT RIDE	B.T.O.
SONG 1321	RAMA LAMA DING DONG	EDSLS
SONG 1320	LOVELAND	CHARLES WRIGHT & WATTS 103RD
SONG 1319	POOR SIDE OF TOWN	JOHNNY RIVERS
SONG 1318	LAST SONG	EDWARD BEAR
SONG 1317	HEAVY MUSIC (PT 1)	BOB SEGER
SONG 1316	MY GUY	MARY WELLS
SONG 1315	NO TIME	GUESS WHO
SONG 1314	BOTH SIDES NOW	JUDY COLLINS
SONG 1313	YOUNG WORLD	RICK NELSON
SONG 1312	BAND OF GOLD	FREDA PAYNE
SONG 1311	THE LITTLE OLD LADY FROM PASAD	JAN & DEAN
SONG 1310	PIRE AND RAIN	JAMES TAYLOR
SONG 1309	CHERRY, CHERRY	NEIL DIAMOND
SONG 1308	THE TWIST	CHUBBY CHECKER
SONG 1307	REACH OUT OF THE DARKNESS	HOLLIES
SONG 1306	LONG COOL WOMAN IN A BLACK DRE	CHICAGO
SONG 1305	COLOUR MY WORLD	POPPY FAMILY
SONG 1304	WHICH WAY YOU GOIN' BILLY	GLADYS KNIGHT & PIPS
SONG 1303	I HEARD IT THROUGH THE GRAVEY	PEPULA CLARK
SONG 1302	DOWNTOWN	DION
SONG 1301	RUBY BABY	TREMELOES
SONG 1300	HERE COMES MY BABY	VENTURES
SONG 1299	WALK DON'T RUN	ARTHUR CONLEY
SONG 1298	SWEET SOUL MUSIC	MONKEES
SONG 1297	LAST TRAIN TO CLARKSVILLE	

CLM-7M Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG #296	ONE OF THESE NIGHTS	EAGLES
SONG #295	GIVE ME JUST A LITTLE MORE TIM	CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
SONG #294	INDIAN RESERVATION	PAUL REVERE & RAIDERS
SONG #293	TWO DIVIDED BY LOVE	GRASS ROOTS
SONG #292	MAYBE I KNOW	LESLIE GORE
SONG #291	PSYCHEDELIC SHACK	TEPICATIONS
SONG #290	FOR FOR FUN	BEACH BOYS
SONG #289	ONE LESS BELL TO ANSWER	5TH DIMENSION
SONG #288	WANT ADS	HONEY CONE
SONG #287	WE CAN WORK IT OUT	BEATLES
SONG #286	THAT'S WHERE I WENT WRONG	POPPY FAMILY
SONG #285	THE BOWER	SIMON & GARFUNKEL
SONG #284	SOCIETY'S CHILD	JANIS IAN
SONG #283	IT'S A SHAME	SPINNERS
SONG #282	A WELL RESPECTED MAN	KINGS
SONG #281	IF YOU DON'T KNOW ME BY NOW	HAROLD MELVIN & BLUENOTES
SONG #280	ONE FINE MORNING	LIGHTHOUSE
SONG #279	BURNING LOVE	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG #278	DIFFERENT DRUM	LINDA RONSTADT & STONE PONEYS
SONG #277	SIXTYFIFT	KYU SAKAMOTO
SONG #276	BRAND NEW KEY	MELANIE
SONG #275	SPIRIT IN THE SKY	NORMAN GREENBAUM
SONG #274	MAGGIE MAY	ROD STEWART
SONG #273	TIME WON'T LET ME	OUTSIDERS
SONG #272	GOING TO A GO-GO	MIRACLES
SONG #271	HELLO MARY LOU	RICK NELSON
SONG #270	HOW LONG	ACE
SONG #269	WATCHA SEE IS WATCHA GET	DRAMA TICS
SONG #268	SO MUCH IN LOVE	TIMES
SONG #267	GREEN-EYED LADY	SUGARLOAF
SONG #266	REFLECTIONS	SUPREMES
SONG #265	RAINY DAY PEOPLE	GORDON LIGHTFOOT
SONG #264	I GOT YOU BABE	SONNY & CHER
SONG #263	ME AND MRS JONES	BILLY PAUL
SONG #262	TEQUILA	CHAPES
SONG #261	FOLK SALAD ANNIE	TONY JOE WHITE
SONG #260	IF YOU WANNA BE HAPPY	JIMMY SOUL
SONG #259	STAND BY ME	BEN E. KING
SONG #258	HUNGRY	PAUL REVERE & RAIDERS
SONG #257	PALISADES PARK	FREDDY CANNON
SONG #256	SUNSHINE SUPERMAN	DONOVAN
SONG #255	WE'LL SING IN THE SUNSHINE	CALE CARNETT
SONG #254	YESTERDAY	BEATLES
SONG #253	SOUL AND INSPIRATION	RIGHTeous BROTHERS
SONG #252	CAN'T TAKE MY EYES OFF OF YOU	FRANKIE VALLI
SONG #251	BRANDY	LOOKING GLASS
SONG #250	THE BEST OF MY LOVE	EMOTIONS
SONG #249	CHAIN OF FOOLS	ABETHA FRANKLIN
SONG #248	MERCY MERCY ME (THE ECOLOGY)	MARVIN GAYE
SONG #247	JOHNNY ANGEL	SHELLY FRANKS
SONG #246	I WONDER WHAT SHE'S DOING	BOYCE & HART

CLM-7M Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG #245	KISS AND SAY GOODBYE	MANHATTANS
SONG #244	THE LION SLEEPS TONIGHT	TOKENS LIGHTHOUSE
SONG #243	LOVE GROWS (WHERE MY ROSEMARY G	EDISON PRESLEY
SONG #242	LITTLE HOUSE ROCK	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG #241	LITTLE DEUCE COUPE	BEACH BOYS
SONG #240	SWEET CITY WOMAN	STAMPEDERS
SONG #239	UPTIGHT (EVERYTHING'S ALRIGHT)	STEVE MONDER
SONG #238	BE MY BABY	ANTY KIR
SONG #237	RAINY NIGHT IN GEORGIA	BROOK BENTON
SONG #236	NO SUGAR TONITE/NEW MOTHER MAT	SUPREMES
SONG #235	BABY LOVE	GUESS WHO
SONG #234	KEEPER OF THE CASTLE	GORDON LIGHTFOOT
SONG #233	CAREFREE HIGHWAY	MERLE RUSH & THE TURNABOUTS
SONG #232	ANGEL OF THE MORNING	WILSON PICKETT
SONG #231	LAND OF 1000 DANCERS	GUESS WHO
SONG #230	SHAKIN' ALL OVER	RAY CHARLES
SONG #229	I CAN'T STOP LOVING YOU	ROLLING STONES
SONG #228	THE LAST TIME	EVERLY BROTHERS
SONG #227	ALL I HAVE TO DO IS DREAM	UNDISPUTED TRUTH
SONG #226	SMILING FACES	BOBBY FULLER FOUR
SONG #225	I FOUGHT THE LAW	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG #224	KENTUCKY RAIN	FOUR TOPS
SONG #223	STANDING IN THE SHADOWS	DION
SONG #222	DONNA THE PRIMA DONNA	KINGSMEN
SONG #221	LOUIE LOUIE	SLY & THE FAMILY STONE
SONG #220	DANCE TO THE MUSIC	STEVE MONDER
SONG #219	MY CHERIE AMOUR	MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
SONG #218	HEAT WAVE	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG #217	HOUND DOG	JEFFERSON AIRPLANE
SONG #216	WHITE RABBIT	GRAND FUNK
SONG #215	WE'RE AND AMERICAN BAND	ASSOCIATION
SONG #214	ALONG COMES MARY	EVERLY BROTHERS
SONG #213	CATNY'S CLOMN	MARCELS
SONG #212	BLUE MOON	REDBONE
SONG #211	COME AND GET YOUR LOVE	SHOCKING BLUE
SONG #210	VENUS	TILTSON, JOHNNY
SONG #209	POETRY IN MOTION	RONETTES
SONG #208	BABY, I LOVE YOU	DOOBIE BROTHERS
SONG #207	LISTEN TO THE MUSIC	MARVIN GAYE
SONG #206	WHAT'S GOIN' ON	SHRELLS
SONG #205	WILL YOU LOVE ME TOMORROW	SLAM & DAVE
SONG #204	SOUL MAN	DEEP PURPLE
SONG #203	SMOKE ON THE WATER	SCOTT MCKENNIE
SONG #202	SAN FRANCISCO...	GERRY & THE PACEMAKERS
SONG #201	DON'T LET THE SUN CATCH YOU CR	BOB SEGER
SONG #200	OLD TIME ROCK & ROLL	OCEAN
SONG #199	PUT YOUR HAND IN THE HAND	IDEAS OF MARCH
SONG #198	VEHICLE	SLY & THE FAMILY STONE
SONG #197	I WANT TO TAKE YOU HIGHER	MIRACLES
SONG #196	YOU REALLY GOT A HOLD ON ME	BEATLES
SONG #195	DAY TRIPPER	

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1194	DANIEL	ELTON JOHN
1193	INSTANT KAPOKA	JOHN LENNON
1192	G.T.O.	RONNY & THE DAYTONAS
1191	HEY PAULA	PAUL & PAULA
1190	MIDNIGHT TRAIN TO GEORGIA	GAYLIS KNIGHT & PIPS
1189	AIN'T THAT PECULIAR	MARVIN GAYE
1188	MORE TODAY THAN YESTERDAY	SPIRAL STAIRCASE
1187	MONEY MONEY	TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
1186	SHERIFF	FOUR SEASONS
1185	LUCY IN THE SKY WITH DIAMONDS	ELTON JOHN
1184	TEMPTATION EYES	GRASS ROOTS
1183	SIR DUKE	STEVIE WONDER
1182	MAYBELLINE	CHUCK BERRY
1181	HIM OR ME	PAUL REVERE & RAIDERS
1180	DO YOU LOVE ME	CONTOURS
1179	DO WAH DIDDY DIDDY	MAFRED MANN
1178	NA NA HEY HEY KISS HIM GOODBYE	STEAM
1177	RIDE CAPTAIN RIDE	BLUES IMAGE
1176	I SAW HER STANDING THERE	BEATLES
1175	UP ON THE ROOF	DRIFTERS
1174	RAMELIN' GABELIN MAN	BOB SEGER
1173	I'LL BE THERE	JACKSON 5
1172	I GOT RHYTHM	HAPPENINGS
1171	CINNAMON	DREX
1170	THE TEARS OF A CLOWN	SNOKEY & THE MIRACLES
1169	TURNITURNITURN	BYRDS
1168	WORKING MY WAY BACK TO YOU	FOUR SEASONS
1167	WHAT A WONDERFUL WORLD	LOUIS ARMSTRONG
1166	DOES ANYBODY REALLY KNOW WHAT	CHICAGO
1165	BORN TO BE WILD	STEPPENWOLF
1164	I THINK WE'RE ALONE NOW	TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
1163	YOU DIDN'T HAVE TO BE SO NICE	LOVIN' SPOONFUL
1162	AIN'T THAT A SHAKE	PATS DOMINO
1161	JUST MY IMAGINATION	TEMPATIONS
1160	ROCK ME GENTLY	ANDY KIM
1159	REACH OUT I'LL BE THERE	FOUR TOPS
1158	SIGNS	FIVE MAN ELECTRICAL BAND
1157	HE'S A REBEL	CRYSTALS
1156	ROCK YOUR BABY	GEORGE MCCRAE
1155	CHAIN GANG	SAM COOKE
1154	SHOTGUN	JR. WALKER & THE ALL-STARS
1153	BEYOND THE SEA	BOBBY DARIN
1152	LOOKIN' OUT MY BACK DOOR	CREDENCE CLEARWATER REVIVAL
1151	LOVE IS ALL AROUND	TROGS
1150	CRISMON AND CLOVER	TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
1149	SHE'D RATHER BE WITH ME	TURTLES
1148	I SAW HER AGAIN LAST NIGHT	MAMAS & PAPAS
1147	WOODSTOCK	MATHEWS SOUTHERN COMFORT
1146	DUKE OF EARL	GENE CHANDLER
1145	LA BAMB	RITCHIE VALENS
1144	I'M HENRY THE VIII, I AM	HERMAN'S HERMITS

CKLM-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG #143	A BEAUTIFUL MORNING	RASCALS
SONG #142	IN THE MIDNIGHT HOUR	MILSON PICKETT
SONG #141	SECRET AGENT MAN	JOHNNY RIVERS
SONG #140	YOU ARE SO BEAUTIFUL	JOE COCKER
SONG #139	HELP!	BEATLES
SONG #138	YOU'VE MADE ME SO VERY HAPPY	BLOOD SWEAT & TEARS
SONG #137	I WISH IT WOULD RAIN	TEMPTATIONS
SONG #136	THIS OLD HEART OF MINE	ISLEY BROTHERS
SONG #135	BUS STOP	HOLLIES
SONG #134	THE LETTER	BOX TORS
SONG #133	PLEASE MR. POSTMAN	MAVELETES
SONG #132	SEASONS IN THE SUN	TERRY JACKS
SONG #131	CALENDAR GIRL	NEIL SEDAKA
SONG #130	BACK IN MY ARMS AGAIN	SUPREMS
SONG #129	WAIT A MINUTE	TIM TAY & THE TURN-ONS
SONG #128	CHERISH	ASSOCIATION
SONG #127	LOVELY TEARDROPS	JACKIE WILSON
SONG #126	STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN	LED ZEPPELIN
SONG #125	EARTH ANGEL	CREM-CUTS
SONG #124	TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS	B.T.O.
SONG #123	THE LOCO-MOTION	LITTLE EVA
SONG #122	YOU MAKE ME FEEL BRAND NEW	STYLISTICS
SONG #121	THAT'LL BE THE DAY	BUDDY HOLLY
SONG #120	JOHNNY B. GOODE	CHUCK BERRY
SONG #119	GEORGIA ON MY MIND	RAY CHARLES
SONG #118	SHORT PARTS 1 & 2	ISLEY BROTHERS
SONG #117	IN MY ROOM	BEACH BOYS
SONG #116	STAND TALL	BURTON CUMMINGS
SONG #115	GET OFF OF MY CLOUD	ROLLING STONES
SONG #114	A WHITER SHADE OF PALE	PROCOL HARUM
SONG #113	YOU BEAT ME TO THE PUNCH	MART WELLS
SONG #112	LOVE ME TENDER	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG #111	INDIANA WANTS ME	R. DEAN TAYLOR
SONG #110	AIN'T NO MOUNTAIN HIGH ENOUGH	DIANA ROSS
SONG #109	RETURN TO SENDER	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG #108	WIGHTRIN' STRIKES	JOE CHRISTIE
SONG #107	AT BOYFRIEND'S BACK	ANGELS
SONG #106	THEME FROM "A SUMMER PLACE"	PATY PAITH
SONG #105	KICKS	T & MISTERIANS
SONG #104	DEAD MAN'S CURVE	PAUL REVERE & RAIDERS
SONG #103	I'LL BE DOGGONE	JAN & DEAN
SONG #102	CRACKLIN' ROSIE	MARVIN GAYE
SONG #101	KIND OF A DRAG	NEIL DIAMOND
SONG #100	SHE'S NOT THERE	BUCKINGHAMS
SONG #99	WOOLY BULLY	ZOMBIES
SONG #98	IN THE STILL OF THE NIGHT	SAY THE SHAW & THE PHAROANS
SONG #97	I WANT TO HOLD YOUR HAND	FIVE SATINS
SONG #96	THE SOUNDS OF SILENCE	BEATLES
SONG #95	BERNADETTE	SIMON & GARFUNKEL
SONG #94		FOUR TOPS
SONG #93		

CKLM-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG # 92	COULD IT BE I'M FALLING IN LOVE	SPINERS
SONG # 91	I GOT YOU (I FEEL GOOD)	JAMES BROWN
SONG # 90	AMERICAN WOMAN	SPENCER DAVIS GROUP
SONG # 89	DO YOU BELIEVE IN MAGIC	GUESS WHO
SONG # 88	THE WANDERER	LOVIN' SPOONFUL
SONG # 87	CALIFORNIA GIRLS	BEACH BOYS
SONG # 86	A NATURAL WOMAN	ARETHA FRANKLIN
SONG # 85	NEVER MY LOVE	ASSOCIATION
SONG # 84	GROOVIN'	RASCALS
SONG # 83	JIMMY HICK	MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
SONG # 82	TRANT HER LIKE A LADY	CORNELIUS BROS & SISTER ROSE
SONG # 81	GLORIA	SHADOWS OF KNIGHT
SONG # 80	THESE EYES	GUESS WHO
SONG # 79	SO...AR AWAY	CHARLE KING
SONG # 78	OH GIRL	CHI-LITES
SONG # 77	DRAGGIN' THE LINE	TOMMY JAMES-
SONG # 76	BRICK OF THE EDMOND FITZGERALD	GORDON LIGHTFOOT
SONG # 75	CHAPEL OF LOVE	DIXIE CUPS
SONG # 74	HOT ROD LINCOLN	COMANDER CODY
SONG # 73	BEGINNINGS	MICHAEL JACKSON
SONG # 72	GOT TO BE THERE	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG # 71	CAN'T HELP FALLING IN LOVE	TEAR: STAFFORD
SONG # 70	SUSPICION	MIRACLES
SONG # 69	THE TRACKS OF MY TEARS	HARRY CHAPIN
SONG # 68	TAXI	DIAMONDS
SONG # 67	LITTLE DARLIN'	O'JAYS
SONG # 66	LOVE TRAIN	MASON WILLIAMS
SONG # 65	CLASSICAL GAS	TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
SONG # 64	CRYSTAL BLUE PERSUASION	ROLLING STONES
SONG # 63	JUNIOR, JACK FLASH	JERRY LEE LEWIS
SONG # 62	GREAT BALLS OF FIRE	ARETHA FRANKLIN
SONG # 61	RESPECT	DON MCLEAN
SONG # 60	AMERICAN PIE	MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
SONG # 59	NOWHERE TO RUN	JAMES BROWN
SONG # 58	PAPA'S GOT A BRAND NEW BAG	CHITONS
SONG # 57	SWEET T.L.K.I.N. GUY	BARRY McGuire
SONG # 56	EVE OF DESTRUCTION	DANNY & JUNIORS
SONG # 55	AT THE HOP	TEMPTATIONS
SONG # 54	ALL I NEED	FOUR TOPS
SONG # 53	IT'S THE SAME OLD SONG	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG # 52	DON'T BE CRUEL	LARRY WELCH
SONG # 51	SINCE I FELL FOR YOU	SAV COOKE
SONG # 50	YOU SEND ME	OLIVER
SONG # 49	GOOD MORNING STARSHINE	DAVE CLARK 5
SONG # 48	CATCH US IF YOU CAN	RASCALS
SONG # 47	GOOD LOVIN'	DEL SHANNON
SONG # 46	FUNAWAY	CROSBY STILLS & NASH
SONG # 45	SUTTER JUDY BLUE EYES	REFLECTIONS
SONG # 44	JUST LIKE ROMEO & JULIET	WILBERT HARRISON
SONG # 43	KANSAS CITY	
SONG # 42		

CKLM-FM Freedom 500 Countdown - Canada Day July 1, 1992

SONG # 41	STAY	MAURICE WILLIAMS & RODOLFS
SONG # 40	CALIFORNIA DREAMIN'	NAMAS & PAPAS
SONG # 39	OH HOW HAPPY	SHADE OF BLUE
SONG # 38	RUNAROUND SUE	DION
SONG # 37	SURFIN' U.S.A.	NAMAS & PAPAS
SONG # 36	MONDAY, MONDAY	CREDENCE CLEARWATER REVIVAL
SONG # 35	UP AROUND THE BEND	JIMMY GILMER & THE FIREBALLS
SONG # 34	SUGAR SHACK	FOUR SEASONS
SONG # 33	OPUS 17 (DON'T YOU WORRY 'BOUT	BILLY STEWART
SONG # 32	SUPERSTIME	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG # 31	SUSPICIOUS MINDS	MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
SONG # 30	QUICKSAND	SHANGRI-LAS
SONG # 29	LEADER OF THE PACK	BEACH BOYS
SONG # 28	I GET AROUND	SURFANIS
SONG # 27	WIFE OUT	ELTON JOHN
SONG # 26	HEY JUDE	BEATLES
SONG # 25	BE MY BABY	RONETTES
SONG # 24	IT AIN'T ME BABE	TURTLES
SONG # 23	I HEARD IT THROUGH THE GRAPEVINE	MARVIN GAYE
SONG # 22	OH PRETTY WOMAN	ROY ORBISON
SONG # 21	DANCING IN THE STREET	MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
SONG # 20	WHOLE LOTTA SHAKIN' GOIN' ON	JERRY LEE LEWIS
SONG # 19	SATISFACTION	ROLLING STONES
SONG # 18	WHEN A MAN LOVES A WOMAN	PERCY SLEDGE
SONG # 17	I CAN'T HELP MYSELF	FOUR TOPS
SONG # 16	(SITTIN' ON) THE DOCK OF THE B	OTIS REDDING
SONG # 15	TRAVELIN' MAN	RICK NELSON
SONG # 14	DEVIL/BLUE DRESS/GOOD GOLLY	KITCH RIDER & DETROIT WHEELS
SONG # 13	THE HOUSE OF THE RISING SUN	ANIMALS
SONG # 12	ROCK AROUND THE CLOCK	BILL HALEY & THE COMETS
SONG # 11	ARE YOU LONESOME TONIGHT	ELVIS PRESLEY
SONG # 10	UNCHAINED MELODY	RIGHTEOUS BROTHERS
SONG # 9	DA DOO RON RON	CRYSTALS
SONG # 8	BROWN EYED GIRL	VAN MORRISON
SONG # 7	LIGHT MY FIRE	DOORS
SONG # 6	GOOD VIBRATIONS	BEACH BOYS
SONG # 5	BRIDGE OVER TROUBLED WATER	SLIMON & GARUNKEL
SONG # 4	NIGHTS IN WHITE SATIN	MOODY BLUES
SONG # 3	MY GIRL	TEMPTATIONS
SONG # 2	YOU'VE LOST THAT LOVIN' FEELIN	RIGHTEOUS BROTHERS
SONG # 1		

The Top 500 of All-Time



Great Fun • Great Oldies

The 93.9FM CKLW Top 500 of All Time was selected according to the votes of CKLW listeners and was broadcast July 1 - 5, 1993

1. UNCHAINED MELODY / RIGHTEOUS BROS.
2. CAN'T HELP FALLING IN LOVE / ELVIS PRESLEY
3. CHAPEL OF LOVE / DIXIE CUPS
4. THE LION SLEEPS TONIGHT / TOKENS
5. SEASONS IN THE SUN / TERRY JACKS
6. THE WANDERER / DION
7. HEY JUDE / BEATLES
8. WHAT A WONDERFUL WORLD / LOUIS ARMSTRONG
9. MONY MONY / TOMMY JAMES & THE SHONDELLS
10. WILD THING / TROGGS
11. NIGHTS IN WHITE SATIN / MOODY BLUES
12. JAILHOUSE ROCK / ELVIS PRESLEY
13. A NATURAL WOMAN / ARETHA FRANKLIN
14. PRETTY WOMAN / ROY ORBISON
15. SAN FRANCISCO / SCOTT MCKENZIE
16. IMAGINE / JOHN LENNON
17. THEME FROM A SUMMER PLACE / PERCY FAITH
18. BROWN EYED GIRL / VAN MORRISON
19. SATISFACTION / ROLLING STONES
20. MAGGIE MAY / ROD STEWART
21. AMERICAN PIE / DON McLEAN
22. I HEARD IT THROUGH THE GRAPEVINE / MARVIN GAYE
23. CALIFORNIA DREAMIN' / MAMAS & PAPAS
24. MY GIRL / TEMPTATIONS
25. LET IT BE / BEATLES
26. YOU'VE LOST THAT LOVIN FEELING / RIGHTEOUS BROS.
27. WHEN A MAN LOVES A WOMAN / PERCY SLEDGE
28. TEARS OF A CLOWN / SMOKEY ROBINSON & THE MIRACLES
29. DRIFT AWAY / DOBIE GRAY
30. DANIEL / ELTON JOHN
31. DUKE OF EARL / GENE CHANDLER
32. RUNAWAY / DEL SHANNON
33. CALIFORNIA GIRLS / BEACH BOYS
34. THE BOXER / SIMON & GARFUNKEL
35. HAPPY TOGETHER / TURTLES
36. YESTERDAY / BEATLES
37. UNDER THE BOARDWALK / DRIFTERS
38. MY GUY / MARY WELLS
39. DO YOU LOVE ME / CONTOURS
40. STAND BY ME / BEN E. KING
41. AIN'T TOO PROUD TO BEG / TEMPTATIONS
42. ROCK ME GENTLY / ANDY KIM
43. HELP / BEATLES
44. SUSPICIOUS MINDS / ELVIS PRESLEY
45. THE TWIST / CHUBBY CHECKER
46. OH GIRL / CHI LITES
47. GOOD VIBRATIONS / BEACH BOYS
48. PROUD MARY / CCR

49. HOLD ME, THRILL ME, KISS ME / MEL CARTER
50. LOVE ME TENDER / ELVIS PRESLEY
51. RUNAROUND SUE / DION
52. THE HOUSE OF THE RISING SUN / ANIMALS
53. SUGAR SUGAR / ARCHIES
54. THE LOCOMOTION / LITTLE EVA
55. MRS. BROWN YOU'VE GOT A LOVELY ... / HERMAN'S HERMITTS
56. ONLY YOU / PLATTERS
57. JUMPIN' JACK FLASH / ROLLING STONES
58. DIZZY / TOMMY ROE
59. BE MY BABY / RONETTES
60. ROCK AROUND THE CLOCK / BILL HALEY & THE COMETS
61. CARA MIA / JAY & THE AMERICANS
62. MY BOYFRIEND'S BACK / ANGELS
63. ONLY THE LONELY / ROY ORBISON
64. SIGNS / FIVE MAN ELECTRICAL BAND
65. I FOUGHT THE LAW / BOBBY FULLER FOUR
66. IT'S MY PARTY / LESLEY GORE
67. MACK THE KNIFE / BOBBY DARIN
68. BABY LOVE / SUPREMES
69. A HARD DAY'S NIGHT / BEATLES
70. AQUARIUS / FIFTH DIMENSION
71. I'M INTO SOMETHING GOOD / HERMAN'S HERMITTS
72. MICKEY'S MONKEY / SMOKEY ROBINSON & THE MIRACLES
73. DOWNTOWN / PETULA CLARK
74. SEE YOU IN SEPTEMBER / THE HAPPENINGS
75. I WANT TO HOLD YOUR HAND / BEATLES
76. SWEET CAROLINE / NEIL DIAMOND
77. SURFIN USA / BEACH BOYS
78. POOR SIDE OF TOWN / JOHNNY RIVERS
79. SOUL MAN / SAM & DAVE
80. LIGHT MY FIRE / DOORS
81. AMERICAN WOMAN / GUESS WHO
82. JUST ONCE IN MY LIFE / RIGHTEOUS BROS.
83. GREEN EYED LADY / SUGARLOAF
84. HELP ME RHONDA / BEACH BOYS
85. IN THE GHETTO / ELVIS PRESLEY
86. DOWN IN THE BOONDOCKS / BILLY JOE ROYAL
87. ALL MY LOVING / BEATLES
88. BECAUSE / DAVE CLARK FIVE
89. SEA OF LOVE / PHIL PHILLIPS
90. WHITE RABBIT / JEFFERSON AIRPLANE
91. HAIR / COWSILLS
92. SMOKE GETS IN YOUR EYES / PLATTERS
93. DON'T BE CRUEL / ELVIS PRESLEY
94. ITCHYCOO PARK / SMALL FACES
95. TWIST & SHOUT / BEATLES
96. COME GO WITH ME / DEL VIKINGS
97. LEAN ON ME / BILL WITHERS
98. BAD MOON RISING / CCR
99. SILENCE IS GOLDEN / TREMELOES
100. DO WAH DIDDY / MANFRED MANN
101. THE WRECK OF THE EDMUND FITZGERALD / GORDON LIGHTFOOT
102. JOHNNY B. GOODE / CHUCK BERRY

103. I'M HENRY THE 8TH / HERMAN'S HERMITTS
104. SHERRY / FOUR SEASONS
105. THE LONG AND WINDING ROAD / BEATLES
106. PRETTY LITTLE ANGEL EYES / CURTIS LEE
107. KENTUCKY RAIN / ELVIS PRESLEY
108. CRYSTAL BLUE PERSUASION / TOMMY JAMES & THE SHONDELLS
109. ALONG COMES MARY / ASSOCIATION
110. HE AIN'T HEAVY HE'S MY BROTHER / HOLLIES
111. THESE EYES / GUESS WHO
112. PAINT IT BLACK / ROLLING STONES
113. (SITTIN' ON) THE DOCK OF THE BAY / OTIS REDDING
114. DAYDREAM BELIEVER / MONKEES
115. TO SIR WITH LOVE / LULU
116. WIPEOUT / SURFARIS
117. LAST KISS / J. FRANK WILSON
118. BORN TO BE WILD / STEPPENWOLF
119. THIS DIAMOND RING / GARY LEWIS & THE PLAYBOYS
120. CRIMSON & CLOVER / TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
121. PUPPY LOVE / PAUL ANKA
122. 1-2-3 / LEN BARRY
123. BRIDGE OVER TROUBLE WATER / SIMON & GARFUNKEL
124. KICKS / PAUL REVERE & THE RAIDERS
125. WHITER SHADE OF PALE / PROCUL HARUM
126. SOMEBODY TO LOVE / JEFFERSON AIRPLANE
127. IN THE MIDNIGHT HOUR / WILSON PICKETT
128. TEQUILA / CHAMPS
129. GREAT BALLS OF FIRE / JERRY LEE LEWIS
130. (YOU'RE MY) SOUL AND INSPIRATION / RIGHTEOUS BROS.
131. TAKE A LETTER MARIA / R.B. GREAVES
132. CALENDAR GIRL / NEIL SEDAKA
133. LITTLE SISTER / ELVIS PRESLEY
134. MICHELLE / BEATLES
135. GO ALL THE WAY / RASPBERRIES
136. RUBY TUESDAY / ROLLING STONES
137. I WONDER WHAT SHE'S DOING TONIGHT / T. BOYCE & T. HART
138. ONE TIN SOLDIER / ORIGINAL CASTE
139. DON'T SLEEP IN THE SUBWAY / PETULA CLARK
140. SWEET SOUL MUSIC / ARTHUR CONLEY
141. CUPID / SAM COOKE
142. WILD WEEKEND / REBELS
143. WHO'LL STOP THE RAIN / CCR
144. RESPECT / ARETHA FRANKLIN
145. PUFF THE MAGIC DRAGON / PETER, PAUL & MARY
146. LYIN' EYES / EAGLES
147. FUN FUN FUN / BEACH BOYS
148. DONNA / RITCHIE VALENS
149. LET'S STAY TOGETHER / AL GREEN
150. MR TAMBOURINE MAN / BYRDS
151. SPLISH SPLASH / BOBBY DARIN
152. IF I WERE A CARPENTER / BOBBY DARIN
153. DA DO RON RON / CRYSTALS
154. GET OFF MY CLOUD / ROLLING STONES
155. CHANTILLY LACE / BIG BOPPER
156. I'M A BELIEVER / MONKEES

157. COLOUR MY WORLD / CHICAGO
158. TEEN ANGEL / MARK DINNING
159. WONDER OF YOU / ELVIS PRESLEY
160. MAKE ME YOUR BABY / BARBARA LEWIS
161. CARRIE ANN / HOLLIES
162. DAYTRIPPER / BEATLES
163. WAKE UP LITTLE SUZIE / EVERLY BROS.
164. GREEN ONIONS / BOOKER T & THE MG'S
165. PIANO MAN / BILLY JOEL
166. RHYTHM OF THE RAIN / CASCADES
167. TRAVELLIN BAND / CCR
168. NEVER MY LOVE / ASSOCIATION
169. RUBBER BALL / BOBBY VEE
170. HE'S SO FINE / CHIFFONS
171. NO PARTICULAR PLACE TO GO / CHUCK BERRY
172. ANGIE / ROLLING STONES
173. WONDERFUL WORLD / SAM COOKE
174. DAY AFTER DAY / BADFINGER
175. HOOKED ON A FEELING / B.J. THOMAS
176. ROCKIN ROBIN / BOBBY DAY
177. JOY TO THE WORLD / THREE DOG NIGHT
178. HONKY TONK WOMEN / ROLLING STONES
179. CATS IN THE CRADLE / HARRY CHAPIN
180. PRECIOUS AND FEW / CLIMAX
181. SAVE THE LAST DANCE / DRIFTERS
182. SNOWBIRD / ANNE MURRAY
183. I GET AROUND / BEACH BOYS
184. WORST THAT COULD HAPPEN / BROOKLYN BRIDGE
185. I ONLY WANT TO BE WITH YOU / DUSTY SPRINGFIELD
186. CATHY'S CLOWN / EVERLY BROS.
187. STAY AWHILE / BELLS
188. LET'S TWIST AGAIN / CHUBBY CHECKER
189. GLAD ALL OVER / DAVE CLARK FIVE
190. BREAKING UP IS HARD TO DO / NEIL SEDAKA
191. CROCODILE ROCK / ELTON JOHN
192. EIGHT DAYS A WEEK / BEATLES
193. I GOT YOU BABE / SONNY & CHER
194. I'M ALL SHOOK UP / ELVIS PRESLEY
195. I HEAR A SYMPHONY / SUPREMES
196. BUS STOP / HOLLIES
197. RESCUE ME / FONTELLA BASS
198. HE'S A REBEL / CRYSTALS
199. LIKE A ROLLING STONE / BOB DYLAN
200. I LIKE IT LIKE THAT / DAVE CLARK FIVE
201. NOWHERE TO RUN / MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
202. LAND OF 1000 DANCES / WILSON PICKETT
203. IT'S THE SAME OLD SONG / FOUR TOPS
204. TOWN WITHOUT PITY / GENE PITNEY
205. CRYING IN THE CHAPEL / ELVIS PRESLEY
206. DOES ANYBODY REALLY KNOW WHAT TIME IT IS / CHICAGO
207. BACKFIELD IN MOTION / MEL AND TIM
208. GET BACK / BEATLES
209. WALK AWAY RENEE / LEFT BANKE
210. A LITTLE BIT ME, A LITTLE BIT YOU / MONKEES

211. YOUNG GIRL / GARY PUCKETT & THE UNION GAP
212. MONDAY MONDAY / MAMAS & PAPAS
213. SUGAR SHACK / JIMMY GILMER & THE FIREBALLS
214. LONG COOL WOMAN / HOLLIES
215. COME A LITTLE BIT CLOSER / JAY & THE AMERICANS
216. LAST TRAIN TO CLARKSVILLE / MONKEES
217. HAVE I THE RIGHT / HONEYCOMBS
218. LITTLE DEUCE COUPE / BEACH BOYS
219. YOU REALLY GOT ME / KINKS
220. TEARS ON MY PILLOW / LITTLE ANTHONY & THE IMPERIALS
221. ALL I HAVE TO DO IS DREAM / EVERLY BROS.
222. LAST SONG / EDWARD BEAR
223. HANG ON SLOOPY / McCOYS
224. GET READY / RARE EARTH
225. HANKY PANKY / TOMMY JAMES & THE SHONDELLS
226. MIDNIGHT CONFESSIONS / GRASS ROOTS
227. SLIP AWAY / CLARENCE CARTER
228. DREAM LOVER / BOBBY DARIN
229. CLASSICAL GAS / MASON WILLIAMS
230. PLEASE MR. POSTMAN / MARVELETTES
231. ARE YOU LONESOME TONIGHT / ELVIS PRESLEY
232. BERNADETTE / FOUR TOPS
233. BLUEBERRY HILL / FATS DOMINO
234. DEVIL WITH THE BLUE DRESS/GOOD GOLLY / MITCH RYDER
235. IT HURTS TO BE IN LOVE / GENE PITNEY
236. CALL ME / CHRIS MONTEZ
237. SUMMERTIME BLUES / EDDIE COCHRANE
238. MUSTANG SALLY / WILSON PICKETT
239. SINCE I FELL FOR YOU / LENNY WELCH
240. THEN HE KISSED ME / CRYSTALS
241. YOU CAN'T HURRY LOVE / SUPREMES
242. WOOLY BULLY / SAM THE SHAM & THE PHAROAHs
243. TOSSIN' & TURNIN' / BOBBY LEWIS
244. BURNING LOVE / ELVIS PRESLEY
245. PAPA WAS A ROLLING STONE / TEMPTATIONS
246. TIME IN A BOTTLE / JIM CROCE
247. LET'S HANG ON / FOUR SEASONS
248. CALIFORNIA SUN / RIVIERAS
249. BARBARA ANN / BEACH BOYS
250. BIRD'S AND THE BEES / JEWEL AKENS
251. GAME OF LOVE / WAYNE FONTANA & MINDBENDERS
252. HEATWAVE / MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
253. I THINK WE'RE ALONE NOW / TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
254. IF YOU WANNA BE HAPPY / JIMMY SOUL
255. KENTUCKY WOMAN / NEIL DIAMOND
256. JOHNNY ANGEL / SHELLEY FABARES
257. DON'T LET THE SUN CATCH ... / GERRY & THE PACEMAKERS
258. SWEET CITY WOMAN / STAMPEDERS
259. WALK LIKE A MAN / FOUR SEASONS
260. WHOLE LOTTA SHAKIN' GOIN' ON / JERRY LEE LEWIS
261. YOU'RE SO VAIN / CARLY SIMON
262. THE RAIN, THE PARK AND OTHER THINGS / COWSILLS
263. SWEET TALKIN' GUY / CHIFFONS
264. RAVE ON / BUDDY HOLLY

265. LET'S LIVE FOR TODAY / GRASS ROOTS
266. GOODBYE YELLOW BRICK ROAD / ELTON JOHN
267. THE TRACKS OF MY TEARS / SMOKEY ROBINSON & THE MIRACLES
268. BABY I NEED YOUR LOVIN' / FOUR TOPS
269. ANGEL OF THE MORNING / MERILEE RUSH
270. EVE OF DESTRUCTION / BARRY McGUIRE
271. GOIN TO A GO GO / SMOKEY ROBINSON & THE MIRACLES
272. LOCOMOTION / GRAND FUNK
273. LOVE IS STRANGE / MICKEY & SYLVIA
274. PUT YOUR HEAD ON MY SHOULDER / PAUL ANKA
275. SOUNDS OF SILENCE / SIMON & GARFUNKEL
276. HELLO MARY LOU / RICK NELSON
277. POLK SALAD ANNIE / TONY JOE WHITE
278. CRYING / ROY ORBISON
279. YOU SEND ME / SAM COOKE
280. SHE LOVES YOU / BEATLES
281. 96 TEARS / ? AND THE MYSTERIANS
282. DIANA / PAUL ANKA
283. LET ME BE YOUR TEDDY BEAR / ELVIS PRESLEY
284. SURF CITY / JAN & DEAN
285. YOU ARE THE SUNSHINE OF MY LIFE / STEVIE WONDER
286. STAY / MAURICE WILLIAMS
287. POOR LITTLE FOOL / RICKY NELSON
288. ODE TO BILLIE JOE / BOBBY GENTRY
289. HOW SWEET IT IS / MARVIN GAYE
290. AS THE YEARS GO BY / MASHMAKHAN
291. ABC / JACKSON 5
292. CHERISH / ASSOCIATION
293. GROOVY KIND OF LOVE / WAYNE FONTANA & THE MINDBENDERS
294. LOVE POTION #9 / SEARCHERS
295. QUICKSAND / MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
296. BROWN SUGAR / ROLLING STONES
297. I DIG ROCK 'N ROLL MUSIC / PETER, PAUL & MARY
298. RUNNING SCARED / ROY ORBISON
299. SUMMER RAIN / JOHNNY RIVERS
300. THINK / ARETHA FRANKLIN
301. THE STROLL / DIAMONDS
302. WISHIN' AND HOPIN / DUSTY SPRINGFIELD
303. OVER YOU / GARY PUCKETT & THE UNION GAP
304. IF YOU COULD READ MY MIND / GORDON LIGHTFOOT
305. DIFFERENT DRUM / STONE PONEYS
306. BABY IT'S YOU / SMITH
307. COOL JERK / THE CAPITOLS
308. IT'S ALL IN THE GAME / TOMMY EDWARDS
309. BRANDY / LOOKING GLASS
310. HONEY CHILD / MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
311. LIMBO ROCK / CHUBBY CHECKER
312. THAT'LL BE THE DAY / BUDDY HOLLY
313. YELLOW SUBMARINE / BEATLES
314. WHAT'S GOING ON / MARVIN GAYE
315. SHOUT / ISLEY BROS.
316. MAYBE I KNOW / LESLEY GORE
317. INDIANA WANTS ME / R.DEAN TAYLOR
318. CAN'T TAKE MY EYES OFF OF YOU / FOUR SEASONS

319. BABY I LOVE YOU / RONETTES
320. FIVE O'CLOCK WORLD / VOGUES
321. LOVE ME DO / BEATLES
322. RAG DOLL / FOUR SEASONS
323. SPIRIT IN THE SKY / NORMAN GREENBAUM
324. YOU BEAT ME TO THE PUNCH / MARY WELLS
325. SUSPICION / TERRY STAFFORD
326. OOH CHILD / FIVE STAIRSTEPS
327. LIGHT MY FIRE / JOSE FELICIANO
328. I AM A ROCK / SIMON & GARFUNKEL
329. BUILD ME UP BUTTERCUP / FOUNDATIONS
330. HEARTBREAK HOTEL / ELVIS PRESLEY
331. PRETTY LADY / LIGHTHOUSE
332. BAREFOOTIN' / ROBERT PARKER
333. IN DREAMS / ROY ORBISON
334. McARTHUR'S PARK / RICHARD HARRIS
335. SMILING FACES / UNDISPUTED TRUTH
336. WHO PUT THE BOMP / BARRY MANN
337. SHE'D RATHER BE WITH ME / TURTLES
338. TRAVELLIN MAN / RICK NELSON
339. LOVE CHILD / SUPREMES
340. GET TOGETHER / YOUNGBLOODS
341. COUNT ME IN / GARY LEWIS & PLAYBOYS
342. AS TEARS GO BY / ROLLING STONES
343. FINGERTIPS PT2 / STEVIE WONDER
344. MAGIC CARPET RIDE / STEPPENWOLF
345. SHEILA / TOMMY ROE
346. YOU'RE A WONDERFUL ONE / MARVIN GAYE
347. MR BLUE / FLEETWOODS
348. GIMME SOME LOVIN' / SPENCER DAVIS GROUP
349. YOU MADE ME SO VERY HAPPY - BLOOD SWEAT & TEARS
350. ALL DAY AND ALL OF THE NIGHT / KINKS
351. DANCING IN THE STREET / MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
352. GROOVIN' / RASCALS
353. GEORGY GIRL / SEEKERS
354. CHAIN GANG / SAM COOKE
355. FRIDAY ON MY MIND / EASYBEATS
356. GOOD LUCK CHARM / ELVIS PRESLEY
357. LEAVING ON A JET PLANE / PETER, PAUL & MARY
358. FERRY CROSS THE MERSEY - GERRY & THE PACEMAKERS
359. CAN I GET A WITNESS / MARVIN GAYE
360. ONE FINE MORNING / LIGHTHOUSE
361. TWENTY FIVE MILES / EDWIN STARR
362. YOU'RE THE ONE / VOGUES
363. SH BOOM / CREW CUTS
364. ME AND MRS JONES / BILLY PAUL
365. INSTANT KARMA / JOHN LENNON
366. LOVE IS ALL AROUND / TROGGS
367. BLACK WATER / DOOBIE BROS.
368. A WORLD WITHOUT LOVE / PETER & GORDON
369. GOOD GOLLY MISS MOLLY / LITTLE RICHARD
370. PENNY LANE / BEATLES
371. STARTING ALL OVER AGAIN / MEL & TIM
372. TOO BUSY THINKIN' BOUT MY BABY - MARVIN GAYE

373. MONSTER MASH / BOBBY 'BORIS' PICKETT
374. SHARE THE LAND / GUESS WHO
375. OH WHAT A NIGHT / THE DELLS
376. LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD / SAM THE SHAM
377. I CAN'T STOP LOVIN' YOU / RAY CHARLES
378. BROTHER LOVE'S TRAVELLING SALVATION SHOW / NEIL DIAMOND
379. ROCK STEADY / ARETHA FRANKLIN
380. SUMMER SONG / CHAD & JEREMY
381. WITCHY WOMAN / EAGLES
382. MY SPECIAL ANGEL / BOBBY HELMS
383. GIVE PEACE A CHANCE / JOHN LENNON
384. I STARTED A JOKE / BEE GEES
385. BAD BAD LEROY BROWN / JIM CROCE
386. SCARBOROUGH FAIR / SIMON & GARFUNKEL
387. HATS OFF TO LARRY / DEL SHANNON
388. SHE'S A LADY / TOM JONES
389. TIME OF THE SEASON / ZOMBIES
390. YOU'VE GOT A FRIEND / JAMES TAYLOR
391. NEVER CAN SAY GOODBYE / JACKSON 5
392. HALF HEAVEN HALF HEARTACHE / GENE PITNEY
393. FIRE / ARTHUR BROWN
394. DECEMBER 1963 / FOUR SEASONS
395. EARTH ANGEL / PENGUINS
396. YOU'RE 16 / RINGO STARR
397. HEY THERE LONELY GIRL / EDDIE HOLMAN
398. THOSE WERE THE DAYS / MARY HOPKINS
399. WESTBOUND #9 / FLAMING EMBERS
400. SHAMBALA / THREE DOG NIGHT
401. GIMME GIMME GOOD LOVIN' / CRAZY ELEPHANT
402. I'LL TURN TO STONE / FOUR TOPS
403. TWIST & SHOUT / ISLEY BROS
404. THEN YOU CAN TELL ME GOODBYE / CASINOS
405. PEOPLE GOTTA MOVE / GINO VANNELLI
406. BLUE SUEDE SHOES / CARL PERKINS
407. DIDN'T I BLOW YOUR MIND / DELFONICS
408. NA NA HEY HEY KISS HIM GOODBYE / STEAM
409. SUNSHINE SUPERMAN / DONOVAN
410. BAND ON THE RUN / WINGS
411. THE JOKER / STEVE MILLER BAND
412. SILHOUETTES / HERMAN'S HERMITS
413. YOU MAKE ME FEEL BRAND NEW / STYLISTICS
414. SNAKE / AL WILSON
415. CLOSE TO YOU / CARPENTERS
416. SUNNY / BOBBY HEBB
417. HEART OF GOLD / NEIL YOUNG
418. THEME FROM SHAFT / ISAAC HAYES
419. REFLECTIONS OF MY LIFE / MARMALADE
420. AND WHEN I DIE / BLOOD, SWEAT & TEARS
421. ALLEY OOP / HOLLYWOOD ARGYLES
422. LOVE ON A TWO WAY STREET / MOMENTS
423. YOU'RE HAVING MY BABY / PAUL ANKA
424. STRAWBERRY FIELDS FOREVER / BEATLES
425. YOUR SONG / ELTON JOHN
426. IN THE STILL OF THE NIGHT / FIVE SATINS

427. VENTURA HIGHWAY / AMERICA
428. LOLLIPOP / CHORDETTEs
429. I'M STONE IN LOVE WITH YOU / STYLISTICS
430. SINCE I LOST MY BABY / TEMPTATIONS
431. (SORRY)I RAN ALL THE WAY HOME / IMPALAS
432. CAREFREE HIGHWAY / GORDON LIGHTFOOT
433. ROCK AND ROLL PT. 2 / GARY GLITTER
434. TAXI / HARRY CHAPIN
435. GIVE ME JUST A LITTLE MORE TIME / CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD
436. LOLA / KINKS
437. GLAMOUR BOY / GUESS WHO
438. INCENSE AND PEPPERMINTS /STRAWBERRY ALARM CLOCK
439. BEN / MICHAEL JACKSON
440. LET ME SERENADE YOU / THREE DOG NIGHT
441. SO IN LOVE / TYMES
442. PLAYGROUND IN MY MIND / CLINT HOLMES
443. BLUE MOON / MARCELS
444. HAWAII 5-0 /VENTURES
445. MR. LONELY / BOBBY VINTON
446. LONELY TEARDROPS / JACKIE WILSON
447. I GOT YOU (I FEEL GOOD) / JAMES BROWN
448. MY SWEET LORD / GEORGE HARRISON
449. DAY BY DAY / GODSPELL
450. WHERE THE BOYS ARE / CONNIE FRANCIS
451. ALONE AGAIN(NATURALLY) / GILBERT O'SULLIVAN
452. PEOPLE GOT TO BE FREE / RASCALS
453. TIE A YELLOW RIBBON / TONY ORLANDO & DAWN
454. ONLY LOVE CAN BREAK YOUR HEART / NEIL YOUNG
455. LITTLE DARLIN' / DIAMONDS
456. MASHED POTATO TIME / DEE DEE SHARP
457. IT'S TOO LATE / CAROLE KING
458. YOU WERE ON MY MIND / WE FIVE
459. THIS IS MY SONG / PETULA CLARK
460. LITTLE OLD LADY FROM PASADENA / JAN & DEAN
461. IT DON'T COME EASY / RINGO STARR
462. WAIT A MINUTE / TIM TAM & THE TURN ONS
463. OPUS 17(DON'T YOU WORRY 'BOUT ME) / FOUR SEASONS
464. WHAT'S NEW PUSSYCAT / TOM JONES
465. LOUIE LOUIE / KINGSMEN
466. RAMBLIN' GAMBLIN' MAN / BOB SEGER
467. SPINNING WHEEL / BLOOD SWEAT & TEARS
468. JUST LIKE ROMEO & JULIET / REFLECTIONS
469. I SHOT THE SHERIFF / ERIC CLAPTON
470. YOU ARE EVERYTHING / STYLISTICS
471. THE NIGHT CHICAGO DIED / PAPER LACE
472. SEALED WITH A KISS / BRIAN HYLAND
473. YOU DIDN'T HAVE TO BE SO NICE / LOVIN' SPOONFUL
474. THE STREAK / RAY STEVENS
475. BABY I LOVE YOU / ANDY KIM
476. PLEASE COME TO BOSTON / DAVE LOGGINS
477. JUST MY IMAGINATION / THE TEMPTATIONS
478. FIRST CUT IS THE DEEPEST / KEITH HAMPSHIRE
479. I'M SORRY / BRENDA LEE
480. TIME IS TIGHT / BOOKER T & THE MG'S

481. DESPERADO / EAGLES
482. WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL / NEW VAUDEVILLE BAND
483. OPEN UP YOUR DOOR / RICHARD & THE YOUNG LIONS
484. IT'S UP TO YOU / RICK NELSON
485. HE'S SURE THE BOY I LOVE / CRYSTALS
486. DO I LOVE YOU / PAUL ANKA
487. BLACK AND WHITE / THREE DOG NIGHT
488. BILLY DON'T BE A HERO / BO DONALDSON & THE HEYWOODS
489. 442 GLENWOOD AVENUE / PIXIES 3
490. I'M READY FOR LOVE / MARTHA & THE VANDELLAS
491. LEVON / ELTON JOHN
492. DIAMOND GIRL / SEALS & CROFTS
493. ALL SUMMER LONG / BEACH BOYS
494. NOBODY I KNOW / PETER & GORDON
495. SHE'S A FOOL / LESLEY GORE
496. SLEEPWALK / SANTO & JOHNNY
497. HONEY / BOBBY GOLDSBORO
498. TWENTY FOUR HOURS FROM TULSA / GENE PITNEY
499. PIECE OF MY HEART / JANIS JOPLIN
500. KEEPER OF THE CASTLE / FOUR TOPS

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APPENDIX E

OLDIES 104.3 WOMC TOP 104 COUNTDOWN - 1993

1. UNCHAINED MELODY - RIGHTEOUS BROTHERS
2. DO WAH DIDDY DIDDY - MANFRED MANN
3. STAND BY ME - BEN E. KING
4. OH PRETTY WOMAN - ROY ORBISON
5. RUNAWAY - DEL SHANNON
6. YOU'VE LOST THAT LOVIN' FEELING - RIGHTEOUS BROTHERS
7. BABY I NEED YOUR LOVIN' - FOUR TOPS
8. UNDER THE BOARDWALK - DRIFTERS
9. CALIFORNIA DREAMIN' - MAMAS & PAPAS
10. OLD TIME ROCK N ROLL - BOB SEGER
11. DOCK OF THE BAY - OTIS REDDING
12. BROWN EYED GIRL - VAN MORRISON
13. DO YOU LOVE ME - CONTOURS
14. NOBODY BUT ME - HUMAN BEINZ
15. DANCING IN THE STREET - MARTHA & VANDELLAS
16. YOU WERE ON MY MIND - WE FIVE
17. WHEN A MAN LOVES A WOMAN - PERCY SLEDGE
18. SHERRY - FOUR SEASONS
19. MY GIRL - TEMPTATIONS
20. I GET AROUND - BEACH BOYS
21. SOUL AND INSPIRATION - RIGHTEOUS BROTHERS
22. HE'S SO FINE - CHIFFONS
23. GIMME SOME LOVIN' - SPENCER DAVIS GROUP
24. COME SEE ABOUT ME - SUPREMES
25. SHOUT - ISLEY BROTHERS
26. THIS DIAMOND RING - GARY LEWIS & PLAYBOYS
27. CROCODILE ROCK - ELTON JOHN
28. MY GUY - MARY WELLS
29. HEY JUDE - BEATLES
30. SWEET SOUL MUSIC - ARTHUR CONLEY
31. DREAM LOVER - BOBBY DARIN
32. WHAT BECOMES OF THE BROKENHEARTED - JIMMY RUFFIN
33. CHERRY CHERRY - NEIL DIAMOND
34. I SECOND THAT EMOTION - SMOKEY ROBINSON
35. WALK LIKE A MAN - FOUR SEASONS
36. 96 TEARS - ? & MYSTERIANS
37. GET READY - RARE EARTH
38. IT'S THE SAME OLD SONG - FOUR TOPS
39. LITTLE DEUCE COUP - BEACH BOYS
40. EVERLASTING LOVE - CARL CARLTON
41. YOU'RE THE ONE - VOGUES
42. GIMME LITTLE SIGN - BRENTON WOOD
43. CHERISH - ASSOCIATION
44. I THINK WE'RE ALONE NOW - TOMMY JAMES & SHONDELLS
45. LOVE ME DO - BEATLES
46. STAY - MAURICE WILLIAMS & ZODIACS
47. RESCUE ME - FONTELLA BASS
48. HOOKED ON A FEELING - B.J. THOMAS
49. I HEAR A SYMPHONY - SUPREMES
50. DO YOU BELIEVE IN MAGIC - LOVIN' SPOONFUL

OLDIES 104.3 WOMC TOP 104 COUNTDOWN - 1993

51. I CAN'T HELP MYSELF - FOUR TOPS
52. IT'S MY PARTY - LESLEY GORE
53. THE LETTER - BOX TOPS
54. ALL I HAVE TO DO IS DREAM - EVERLY BROTHERS
55. GOOD VIBRATIONS - BEACH BOYS
56. THE WANDERER - DION
57. OH HOW HAPPY - SHADES OF BLUE
58. KEEP ON DANCING - GENTRY'S
59. AIN'T NO MOUNTAIN HIGH ENOUGH - GAYE & TERRELL
60. ONLY THE LONELY - ROY ORBISON
61. EIGHT DAYS A WEEK - BEATLES
62. PLEASE MR. POSTMAN - MARVELETTES
63. SPIRIT IN THE SKY - NORMAN GREENBAUM
64. FIVE O'CLOCK WORLD - VOGUES
65. RETURN TO SENDER - ELVIS PRESLEY
66. TIME WON'T LET ME - OUTSIDERS
67. FUN FUN FUN - BEACH BOYS
68. GAMBLIN' GAMBLIN' MAN - BOB SEGER
69. BACK IN MY ARMS AGAIN - SUPREMES
70. UP ON THE ROOF - DRIFTERS
71. NEVER MY LOVE - ASSOCIATION
72. THEN HE KISSED ME - CRYSTALS
73. BIG GIRLS DON'T CRY - FOUR SEASONS
74. I'LL BE DOGGONE - MARVIN GAYE
75. LOUIE LOUIE - KINGSMEN
76. GAME OF LOVE - MINDBENDERS
77. BUS STOP - HOLLIES
78. BAD MOON RISING - CCR
79. MY WORLD IS EMPTY WITHOUT YOU - SUPREMES
80. HELP ME RHONDA - BEACH BOYS
81. SHE'S JUST MY STYLE - GARY LEWIS & PLAYBOYS
82. RHYTHM OF THE RAIN - CASCADES
83. HEY BABY - BRUCE CHANNEL
84. THIS MAGIC MOMENT - JAY & AMERICANS
85. GOOD LOVIN' - RASCALS
86. RUNAROUND SUE - DION
87. KIND OF A DRAG - BUCKINGHAMS
88. ALL MY LOVING - BEATLES
89. HEARD IT THRU THE GRAPEVINE - MARVIN GAYE
90. JAILHOUSE ROCK - ELVIS PRESLEY
91. REACH OUT I'LL BE THERE - FOUR TOPS
92. ANOTHER SATURDAY NIGHT - SAM COOKE
93. LET'S HANG ON - FOUR SEASONS
94. HAPPY TOGETHER - TURTLES
95. THE WAY YOU DO THE THINGS YOU DO - TEMPTATIONS
96. LAST KISS - J. FRANK WILSON
97. LADY WILLPOWER - GARY PUCKETT & UNION GAP
98. BECAUSE - DAVE CLARK FIVE
99. SURFIN' U.S.A. - BEACH BOYS
100. MORE LOVE - SMOKEY ROBINSON

OLDIES 104.3 WOMC TOP 104 COUNTDOWN - 1993

- 101. ROCK AND ROLL MUSIC - CHUCK BERRY
- 102. GROOVIN' - RASCALS
- 103. BABY NOW THAT I FOUND YOU - FOUNDATIONS
- 104. THE TWIST - CHUBBY CHECKER

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